The Outlook

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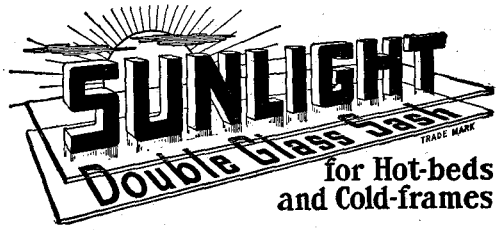

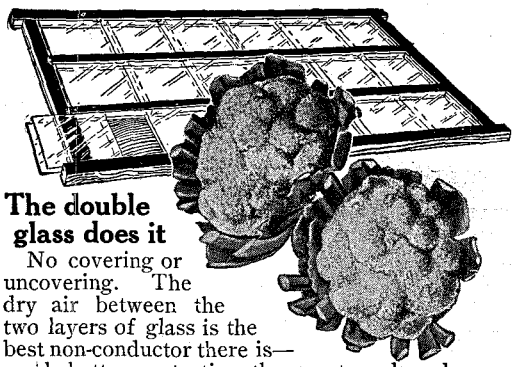

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The Outlook

DECEMBER 4, 1909

LYMAN ABBOTT, Editor-in-Chief. HAMILTON W. MABIE, Associate Editor
THEODORE ROOSEVELT
Contributing Editor

THE STANDARD OIL DECISION

The Standard Oil Company last week, in the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, was declared to be an illegal combination operating in restraint of trade, and its dissolution ordered. The members of the Court—Judges Sanborn, Vanderventer, Hook, and Adams—were unanimous in their opinion. The case can be appealed from their decision direct to the Supreme Court of the United States, and this action will doubtless be taken within the next few weeks. On November 15, 1906, suit was brought by the Federal Government against the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey, seventy subsidiary corporations, and seven individuals, John D. Rockefeller, William Rockefeller, Henry M. Flagler, Henry H. Rogers, John D. Archbold, Oliver H. Payne, and Charles M. Pratt, under the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The Sherman Law is an act to prohibit combination in restraint of trade among the States and with foreign nations; and the Government charged that the defendants had conspired to restrain the trade in petroleum, refined oil and other products of petroleum, and to monopolize the inter-State and foreign commerce in these commodities. This case should not be confounded by the reader with that in which the Standard Oil Company of Indiana was fined twenty-nine million dollars by Judge Landis. The Company in that case was accused of accepting rebates from railways, and the prosecution was brought under an entirely different law from the Sherman Act. In the present case, after several legal skirmishes, the taking of testimony began in June, 1907, hearings were held during a year and a half, and twenty-five thousand printed pages of testimony were taken. Argument began on April 5 of the present year, and continued for a week. Since that time the Court has had the case under advisement. The opinion of the Court contains a succinct history of the Standard Oil Company. In 1865 John D. Rockefeller owned an oil refinery in Cleveland, Ohio. During the next fourteen years the other six defendants in this case associated themselves with Mr. Rockefeller, and all became stockholders in the Standard Oil Company of Ohio, a corporation with a capital stock of one million dollars, which had in the meantime been organized. This company soon owned and controlled more than forty competitive refineries and more than thirty companies engaged in the oil business. In 1879 the Standard Oil Trust was formed, under which three trustees held and managed all the business and properties of these various companies. Three years later a second trust with nine trustees was substituted for the first. The properties in this trust were in 1882 valued at seventy million dollars, and in the next ten years additional property to the value of twenty-seven million two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was acquired. In March, 1892, the trust was ordered dissolved by the Supreme Court of Ohio, on the ground that it tended to create a monopoly. In 1899 a new form of combination was created by which the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey was made a holding company to control through stock ownership the business of all the companies and partnerships of the dissolved trust. Between 1899 and 1906 the affairs of the principal company and of the subsidiary companies, says the Court,

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have been managed by the former as the business of a single person. Subsidiary companies have come and gone at its bidding, but it still holds the control of more than thirty of the chief companies whose business was committed to it in 1899. During those years the Standard Oil Company "manufactured more than three-fourths of all the crude oil refined in the United States; owned and operated more than one-half of all tank cars used to distribute its products; marketed more than four-fifths of all the illuminating oil sold in the United States; exported more than four-fifths of all the illuminating oil sent forth from the United States; and sold more than nine-tenths of all the lubricating oil sold to railway companies in the United States." The parent company has used its power "to prevent competition between the companies it controls; to fix for them the purchase price of crude oil, the rates for its transportation and the selling prices of its products. It has prevented and is preventing any competition in inter-State and international commerce in petroleum and its products between its subsidiary companies and between those companies and itself." An interpretation of the decision of the Court upon these facts and The Outlook's editorial comment upon the principles of the decision will be found on another page.

SECRETARY BALLINGER AND CONSERVATION

None of the departmental reports submitted this week to the President—the first annual reports of the present Administration—will receive greater public attention than that of the Secretary of the Interior. The question of the conservation of natural resources, of what shall be done with the land, the timber, the coal, the minerals, and the water powers still belonging to the people, is one of acute public interest. We are glad to be able to say, as two weeks ago we expressed the hope of being able to say, that Secretary Ballinger takes an unequivocal stand in favor of a vigorous and thoroughgoing policy of conservation, and asks Congress for some legislation which it appears to us will go to the root of the matter. He briefly traces the history of the past: At first the public lands, with the resources they contain, were regarded as a National asset to be used in paying the public debt, in rewarding the country's soldiers and sailors, and in encouraging the building of transcontinental railways. Later, when their value became more clearly realized, they were exploited for private profit. The principal statutes which govern the disposal of public lands are over twenty-five years old. He adds:

> The liberal and rapid disposition of the public lands under these statutes and the lax methods of administration which for a long time prevailed naturally provoked the feeling that the public domain was the legitimate prey for the unscrupulous, and that it was no crime to violate or circumvent the land laws. It is to be regretted that we, as a Nation, were so tardy to realize the importance of preventing so large a measure of our natural resources passing into the hands of land pirates and speculators, with no view to development looking to the National welfare. It may be safely said that millions of acres of timber and other lands have been unlawfully obtained, and it is also true that actions to recover such lands have, in most instances, long since been barred by the statute of limitations. The principal awakening to our wasteful course came under your predecessor's Administration. The bold and vigorous prosecutions of land frauds, through Secretaries Hitchcock and Garfield, have restored a salutary respect for the law, and the public mind has rapidly grasped the importance of safeguarding the further disposition of our natural resources in the public lands in the interest of the public good as against private greed.

With this preliminary statement of the end to be achieved Secretary Ballinger takes up in detail the methods he would pursue.

GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP: PRIVATE OPERATION

First, there should be a careful and expert classification made in the field of all public lands. The Government must determine, and not the private citizen, whether a particular tract is to be entered upon as coal, mineral, agricultural, timber, phosphate, gas or oil, or water power land. The ownership of coal, gas or oil, phosphates, minerals, and water powers should remain in the Government, and these resources should be developed and operated by private capital under a system of sale or lease with such forfeiture clauses as will insure the return of the property to the Government if the lessees or grantees fail

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to observe reasonable limitations defined by the Government as to methods of operation, limitations of output, and other features essential to the public's or the consumer's interest. How far Secretary Ballinger is willing to carry this plan is indicated by his opinion that with regard to coal "Government mine supervision would doubtless be necessary to enforce the conditions and limitations under the grant." This might be criticised by those who fear or oppose a "paternalistic" Government, but it is clearly the opinion of a believer in a vigorous policy of conservation. In another important respect Secretary Ballinger takes a radical stand in behalf of Federal control of natural resources. It has been objected, as to water power sites on public lands by the banks of inland non-navigable streams, that the State and not the Nation has jurisdiction over the water in the streams. Very well, says Secretary Ballinger, legislate that the Federal Government shall grant only easements, limited to a renewable term of, say, thirty years, for the building of power-houses, transmission lines, and dams on these State streams, and refuse to grant the easement unless the grantee transfers to the United States all his water privileges obtained from the State. This may be trampling upon the doctrine of States' rights, but it certainly would not be proposed by a lukewarm supporter of the doctrine of conservation. The Outlook is glad to give its hearty support to the general policy which Secretary Ballinger outlines as that of his department towards the public lands. His report confirms the statement made by President Taft last autumn that Secretary Ballinger is a hearty believer in thorough and effective legislative and executive action for the permanent preservation of the National wealth in the public domain.

MR. TREAT'S REPORT

The most striking feature of the just published annual report of Mr. Charles Treat, the retiring Treasurer of the United States, is his plea for an increase in the salaries of Government employees in the classified service. He points out that the salaries of clerks in classes 1, 2, 3, and 4 have not been changed since 1854. At that time the salaries were adequate, but with the increased cost of living Government employees now find it difficult to provide for the wants of a family and to put aside part of their earnings for that period when they will be no longer useful in the public service. The report urges the enactment of legislation for the creation of a retirement fund for aged Government employees who are growing old in its service, and that, too, on salaries which, in these times of high prices and cost of living, afford no margin for saving to provide for the wants of old age. Mr. Treat does not suggest a civil pension list, but advocates a retirement plan, whereby the Government shall make deductions from the salaries of all employees to provide the necessary fund. With temporary aid from the Government for old clerks now in the service, Mr. Treat's plan is similar to the requirement in Australia, where every clerk on his appointment begins the purchase of a deferred annuity. In these times of the necessity to economize, the suggestion has been made that the force of employees in more than one Government bureau could be somewhat reduced without detriment, and the salaries thus saved used to augment the salaries of those who remain. Certainly there should be an adjustment of the compensation of Government as of other employees to the increased cost of living. In Mr. Treat's bureau the plea comes with special appeal, because no bureau in any department has weightier responsibilities. While Mr. Treat's bureau handles billions of dollars, not a cent of public money is lost.

THE MUNICIPAL LEAGUE AND THE CIVIC ASSOCIATION

Cincinnati has been the scene of a remarkably successful meeting of the National Municipal League and the American Civic Association. Charter reform, immigration, municipal research, municipal franchises, electoral reform, and instruction in civics were among the topics considered at the sessions of the League. Conservation of natural and local resources was the dominant note of the Association's meeting, although city planning, art in the homes and in the city, a saner Fourth of July, and kindred topics came in for

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extended and effective discussion. President McFarland's annual address dealt effectively and at length with the question of conservation. "Concerning respect for the law," he said, "when Speaker Cannon, representing legislative power, says, as I heard him say, that legislation is a matter of compromise between warring interests, each selfishly wanting all it can get, I find it hard to pay respect to, although I must observe, the resulting law. And when his definition is altogether too favorable, and the law in question is quite obviously not at all a matter of compromise, but of plain special provision for private interest, I cannot respect it or feel bound by its spirit, while a just judge, and especially a proper executive official, is warranted in construing its letter as favorable for the public interest as may be possible. So I insist that one definite duty of any good citizen, in his intimate relation to conservation, is to make it plain to the lawmakers and executives he can reach that he favors an efficient National burglar-protection system applying to all the remaining public domain." Ex-Secretary Garfield's address was a notable one, and was well received, as was that of President Eliot. Mr. Garfield said that "conservation does not mean disuse of resources, but wise use in accordance with the real needs of each generation. Mineral resources, such as coal, oil, and phosphates, necessarily are destroyed by use. Other resources, such as land, water, and timber, may be used and yet improved, increased, or replaced. Conservation means the prevention of needless waste in production, the development of higher efficiency in use, and, wherever possible, improvement, increase, and replacement." President Bonaparte's annual address before the League was a witty and searching discussion of the initiative in the choice of elective municipal officers. The substance of this address appears in an article elsewhere in this issue. Clinton Rogers Woodruff, Secretary of the National Municipal League and Vice-President of the Association, in his annual review of municipal and civic happenings, uttered a warning against the idea that the commission form of government is a panacea for all municipal ills; but he pointed out the success which had attended the commissions created for the control of public service corporations, and claimed for the commission plan as applied to city government the advantage of having put into practical operation both the merit system and the short ballot. The most notable single address was that of Miss Grace Abbott before the National Municipal League. Miss Abbott, who is a resident of Hull House, and Director of the League for the Protection of Immigrants, spoke on the subject of "Immigrants and Municipal Politics." She pointed out that to ignore the very obvious diversity in our population, due to the presence in our cities of large groups of people speaking different languages, with different habits of thought and ideals, and to assume the existence of an entirely homogeneous Anglo-Saxon population, is not only stupid but dangerous; that only the more ambitious of the peasantry in Europe undertake the journey to this country, and that they are therefore a rather selected group; that in the past this hopeful element had been left to the tender mercies of the ward politician, and had been allowed to learn from the bad housing, the poor streets, the open vice, which are every-day occurrences, how law may be profitably defied in America; and that the hold of the Boss upon such people, due to his ability to get them a "job," which is an immediate and frequent necessity during their first few years in America, gives that interesting individual a claim to their support and a hold on their suffrages and friendship. In conclusion, Miss Abbott urged that closer acquaintance between the newcomer and the American and greater respect on the part of each for the political experience of the other could result only in good.

THE DEFACEMENT OF HUDSON RIVER SCENERY

While the public is still aroused to a realization of the bearing of Hudson's and Fulton's achievements on our country's civilization, attention should once more be drawn to the defacement of Hudson River scenery. Perhaps the most satisfying feature of the recent celebration was the dedication of the Palisades Inter-State Park, insuring

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these remarkable and romantic cliffs from further harm. In 1894 the Inter-State Park plan to save the Palisades was checked by the action of New York and New Jersey in urging upon the Federal Government the purchase of the entire Palisades plateau for a military reservation. The scheme failed. Most of the Palisades lie in Bergen County, New Jersey. The dominant political powers of that county and certain commercial interests looked upon the region as more than ever their legitimate prey, while throughout the State little concern was felt at a destruction threatening the immense retaining wall on its northeastern boundary. But patriotic women finally obtained from Governor Voorhees, of New Jersey, the appointment of a Commission of Inquiry. Theodore Roosevelt was then Governor of New York. He had already expressed his sympathy with the cause. After the New Jersey Commissioners were appointed, he wrote to the President of the Scenic and Historic Society of New York, asking him to appoint a Committee, as this Society has authority under its charter to treat with the authorities of other States. The New York Committee's influence changed the commercially inclined character of the New Jersey Committee, and in joint convention a report was approved favoring the protection of the Palisades and inclosing bills embodying its terms to be presented to the Legislatures. As a result, lovers of the beautiful now breathe a sigh of satisfaction as they realize that the operations of the quarryman are no longer permitted on the Palisades. The task of rescuing the rest of the river from him should be simpler, since the endeavor is intra-State and not inter-State. As the Palisades were really saved by the women of New Jersey, an opportunity of contributing to the success of the Hudson-Fulton Committee's bill, known as the Bennett Bill, in the next Legislature of New York State is thus open to the Federation of Women's Clubs. It has for its object a continuation of the methods employed to protect the region known as the Highlands of the Hudson. It is true that a bill was recently passed, and is now law, providing for the preservation of the wooded slopes of the Highlands, extending over an area of seventy-five square miles, under the care of the New York State Forestry Commissoner. But the public demands the preservation from defacement of the whole region at least from the Palisades to Newburgh, and why not from the Palisades to Albany? The lovers of the beautiful are reinforced by those who see in our Hudson River scenery a suitable tribute to the achievements of Hudson and Fulton. The river's natural monuments are permanent memorials testifying to the historic value of events full of influence for the destiny of North America.

SOIL CONSERVATION

High prices now obtain on practically every article of household consumption. The upward trend began twelve years ago. As the wages increase has not kept pace with the increase in the cost of living, the situation is hard for millions of men and women. Many of them are compelled to live beyond their means. The exigency is leading men to reflect upon certain causes of the present situation, in especial upon our reckless misuse of three natural resources—forests, mines, lands. Particular attention has been drawn to lands because men now realize that, as Mr. James J. Hill says in the current World's Work, when the forests are all cut down and the mines are nothing but empty holes in the ground, our farm lands will remain capable of renewing their bounty forever. Agriculture has indeed the primary place in national development. All progress really depends ultimately on the proper care of the soil. In this country we have good soil, better than that in Germany. Yet Germany grows twenty-eight bushels an acre to our fourteen! Why is our average yield only half Germany's? Because of our exhaustion of the soil through wasteful farming. Shall our average yield per acre continue to fall? The question becomes the more serious when we consider the increased demand per capita and then the fact that population itself is rapidly increasing. How, then, can farming be made to furnish larger supplies and to support people better? By establishing new tillage methods, says Mr. Hill. We could then double our average crop return and add nearly eight million dollars

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to our National wealth. As a means to this end a farm school should be established in every farming county, to give instruction analogous to that now afforded by our technical schools and institutes for the trades. The agricultural schools should take the shape of a model farm—a working model for common instruction. It should exhibit the adaptation of soil and seed to each other, the advantages of fertilization and the necessary stock-raising, and of diversification and rotation of crops. Above all, it must show that no more land should be cultivated than can be thoroughly tilled, and "that the net profit from one crop of twenty bushels to the acre is as great as that from two of sixteen, after the original cost of production has been paid." An increased yield per acre should mean an increase in laborers, and hence an increase in the volume of mercantile trade.

THE RESCUE AT THE MINE

It was like a return from the dead when, just a week after the explosion in the St. Paul mine at Cherry, Illinois, twenty-two miners were rescued alive. For seven days these men had lived in a portion of the mine which they had kept free from the overpowering gas by building a barricade. It was universally believed that by that time no one of the three hundred entombed could have survived. Nevertheless, so long as there was no proof that they had died, efforts were made by those at work on the surface on the supposition that some might still be living. It was only those who had some personal relation with the buried miners who could expect any other result of the efforts at rescue than the bringing out of dead bodies. It was therefore like the manifestation of a miracle when the rescuers at work in the darkness came upon these living men. In the short space of that week these few miners had found it necessary to establish what was, in fact, a rudimentary form of government. Saved from death by suffocation, they faced death by thirst. The only water available for them was that which dripped from the walls and oozed up from below. This desperate situation divided the men into two groups: those who sought the alleviation of their own thirst without regard for others, and those who had regard for the weaker members and for the welfare of the whole group. The elementary divisions that appear in society at large were thus established in this little community of the dark. Two of the men were leaders by virtue of their skill as miners, and these were the men who gave the orders. They arranged that the three members of the party who were sick should have the first chance at the little pools of water which lay in the depressions that had been scooped out in the veins of coal. Against these orders some of the men revolted. It was discovered that one man had been stealing water from one of the sick miners. The guard that had been established seized the thief of their natural resources, and after a struggle, in which some of the guard were slashed, felled him with an ax-helve and made him prisoner. The more trusted of the miners were the ones who had the hardest experience, because they were the ones who were called upon for public service. This experience of these miners indicates how futile are the arguments for anarchism. Wherever the group-interest clashes with the interest of the individual, wherever the weak need protection, wherever there is a difference between the attitudes and the moral standards of men, wherever there is in certain individuals a special degree of skill and capacity for leadership, wherever there is variation in public spirit, and that means wherever there is a group of individuals, even so few as a score, there is the occasion and the material for government. The rescue of these men reinforces what The Outlook said last week, that there ought to be some way of requiring all mine owners and managers, not only to notify the Government Rescue Station as soon as an accident of this kind happens, but also to maintain at their mine rescue corps of their own. Moreover, this accident calls public attention to the need, not only of measures for the rescue of imprisoned miners, but also measures for the prevention as far as possible of such accidents. The coal that every householder uses, that draws us from place to place, that prepares our food, and that does our work for us, is obtained by means that are wasteful and extravagant, not

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only of wealth, but of human life. If the miners who lost their lives at Cherry have called the attention of the Nation to this grave evil and have stimulated men to take action for a remedy, they have died in a great cause.

A FIGHT FOR FRANCHISE EXTENSION

The contest now in progress in Kansas City, Missouri, over the extension of the franchise of the Metropolitan Street Railway Company of that city suggests some of the considerations that are turning public-spirited citizens of many cities to municipal ownership of public utilities. The street railway company is operating under a franchise that still has sixteen years to run. But it has failed to set aside a sinking fund, and it has $28,000,000 in obligations falling due within the next few years. In order that it may refinance these securities on advantageous terms with the customary huge promoters' profits, it is asking for the extension of its franchise to 1951. It first began seeking a franchise extension nearly four years ago, when in return for a ten-year extension it offered to pay a share of the cost of a needed traffic-way and viaduct that was to cost less than $1,000,000. This offer, which a Kansas City politician aptly described as an attempt to trade a pony for a string of beads, was defeated. For the next two years the company was busy preventing the administration of Mayor H. M. Beardsley from appraising the property as a preliminary to regulation. A powerful factor in politics, the Metropolitan, then helped defeat Mayor Beardsley for re-election, and supported a candidate who was regarded as friendly to its interests. Several months ago it obtained the administration's acquiescence to a franchise extension on a so-called "partnership plan," by which it agreed to divide its surplus with the city after the deduction of certain charges. The Kansas City Star, which was the chief cause of the failure of the first attempt at franchise extension, brought such effective publicity to bear on this proposal, which attempted to fix an enormously inflated valuation on the street railway property, that it was abandoned and a new plan was proposed by the Council, which is to be submitted to a referendum December 16. Under the new plan the street railway company is to be granted a franchise to 1951. In return it agrees after 1913 to sell six tickets for a quarter on street cars, and twenty-five for a dollar in certain drug stores, and to pay $1,315,000 for the traffic-way already mentioned. After 1925 the city is granted the right to regulate fares. At present the fare is five cents, and the Street Railway Company pays eight per cent of its gross receipts to the city in lieu of all taxes. Last year this amounted to $140,000 rental for the streets after the taxes had been deducted. This provision is abolished, and the Company is to pay a $50 license fee for each car—only a fraction of its present payment.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP A REMEDY

Critics of this ordinance point out that the city is going into the trade blindfolded; that it has no way of knowing what the property is worth, and what a reasonable rate of fare would be; that six tickets for a quarter, while an advantage to the city, is a good business proposition for the company—though it might evade the concession later if it should care to, as was done in Philadelphia—and that it is to have the immensely valuable right to the use of the streets for forty-two years virtually free; that the franchise fails to regulate the amount of indebtedness that the company may assume, so that after 1925 the right to regulate fares might prove useless, since the courts might hold—as they have held—that a reduced fare would be insufficient to pay returns on heavily watered securities; and that the franchise makes municipal ownership impossible until 1945. It is urged further that other cities, such as Columbus and Cleveland, have obtained much better terms in the way of fares, and that, in these days of competition between cities for industries, no city can afford to hamper itself and tie its hands in its street railway contract. The chief public opposition to the franchise first came from the Kansas City Star. Later a bi-partisan citizens' movement was started, including prominent members of both parties, among them ex-Mayor

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Beardsley and leaders of the local Republican organization. The Democratic city administration, as sponsor for the ordinance, is naturally working for its ratification at the polls. In order to obtain a franchise extension on favorable terms the street railway company has been actively engaged in politics in Kansas City for many years. It has sought to control councils and to dictate legislation. Public improvements have been held up by its influence. It has been commonly reputed to have furnished the financial backing for a newspaper—which has recently changed hands—which was nominally conducted as a party organ, but the real purpose of which was to promote the ends of the street railway company and to vilify those who opposed its demands. The experience of the city has forced the Kansas City Star to observe: "Street railways now are not managed by experts, trained street railway men. They are, for very evident and significant reasons, under the direction of politicians and financiers. Under municipal ownership there would be no franchises or stocks to turn into inflated values and make money out of. Whatever efficiency, intellect, and energy were engaged would necessarily be devoted to running the street railway and not be devoted to running the politics of the city, or to engineering stock deals and making dividends at the expense of service." The experience of the city of New York confirms this assertion of The Star. The vestibules for the protection of motormen and conductors were bitterly opposed for years by the operating officers of the New York Metropolitan Street Railway. It was not until the receivers, who are now operating the street car lines, took charge that the public obtained the benefit of vestibuled pay-as-you-enter cars.

A SEASIDE PARK IN A CITY

If the present Board of Estimate and Apportionment of the city of New York decides, as we earnestly hope it will, to complete one piece of unfinished business now in its hands before it gives place to the new administration on January 1, it will leave behind it a real monument to its wisdom and efficiency that will be a source of just pride to each of its members, and will insure the gratitude of New York citizens for many generations to come. We refer to the municipal park which is already surveyed for location on the ocean front at Rockaway Beach, which is within the city limits. This is a beautiful stretch of beach, as open to the winds and waves of the sea as any of the great beaches of the world, and yet it can be reached from the heart of New York in considerably less than an hour by various rapid transit lines for a very small fare. In 1907 the present Board began proceedings for the condemnation of property to create such a park, but owing to the panic of that year the proceedings were suspended. One of the essential features of the plan is that the park, with a shore front of over a mile, will provide not merely an ocean-side playground, but also a site for the Seabreeze Hospital maintained by the New York Society for Improving the Condition of the Poor, for the care and cure of children crippled by tuberculous disease. Some of our readers will remember that, through the devoted efforts of Miss Laura Winnington, a member of the staff of The Outlook (who very soon after died of a painful illness), a fresh impetus was given to the successful raising of a fund of $250,000 to make this children's hospital, which was then and has ever since been maintained in an experimental state, a permanent and well-equipped institution. This fresh-air hospital for children began with a few tents erected on the sands at West Coney Island. It has been open every day since June, 1904, takes care of forty-three patients at a time, and has made many total cures. If, through the decision of the Board of Estimate and Apportionment, a park is created at Rockaway Beach, and a site provided for Seabreeze Hospital by the city, the entire sum of $250,000 can be devoted to a modern building and equipment, and five hundred children, instead of forty-three, can have the benefits of the care and the cure. Many other philanthropic institutions of a general character similar to that of Seabreeze will also be provided with sites at Rockaway Park, which will thus become a seaside recreation ground for sick and well. The beauty as well as the importance of this work will,

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we believe, appeal to the Board, and we hope that the individual members will see their way clear to making this great contribution to the welfare of the city as one of their last official acts.

THE BUDGET BEFORE THE LORDS

In the debate in the British House of Lords last week upon the Lloyd-George Budget, the provisions of which were fully described in The Outlook two weeks ago, Lord Lansdowne's motion that the bill be rejected until the people shall have had a chance to pass upon it at an election met with opposition of the strongest and most impressive kind. Lord Rosebery, once Liberal Prime Minister, but since then an independent who might often be relied upon to do the unexpected, opposed the rejection of the Budget in a powerful speech. His advice carries the more weight for the reason that he has during the past few months been opposing with all his force the Budget itself. In his speech before the House of Lords he characterized the Budget as poisoning the sources of national supremacy, destroying public confidence, and spreading over the nation like a miasma. He declared that the Budget taxed the Lords freely and abundantly without their having a word to say in the matter, and contended that this involved the abhorred principle of taxation without representation. In spite, however, of his strenuous disbelief in the Budget, Lord Rosebery warned the Lords that they ran grave risks if they adopted Lord Lansdowne's resolution. "I am quite dissociated from any party," said Lord Rosebery, "and speak from my sense of the awful gravity of the situation. This is the greatest political moment in the lifetime of any man born since 1832." He declared his doubt whether the Lords were choosing the best battlefield. The stake for which they were playing was too heavy, and their action was risking the very existence of the House of Lords. He advised, as a policy which he believed would be victorious, that the Lords allow the Budget to pass and give the country six months' experience of its intolerable impositions, loss of capital and employment. They would then achieve, he believed, when they next approached the polls, a victory that would surprise them. Lord Cromer, for many years British Agent in Egypt, a Liberal Unionist peer, and a believer in free trade, also announced that he disapproved of many of the provisions of the Budget, but at the same time he said that he would find it impossible to support the resolution to reject it. A striking pronouncement was made by the Bishop of Hereford, Dr. John Percival. The Archbishop of Canterbury had previously declared that the bishops in the House of Lords ought to abstain from voting on the measure. The Bishop declared that, while he respected the Archbishop's desire, he claimed the right to exercise an independent judgment. If the bishops had any function to perform, it was to speak for the multitudinous poor. He therefore supported the Budget, which was a social welfare Budget based on sound finance. He was convinced that the country's answer to an appeal to the ballot would be, in clear English, that never again were the fundamental liberties of the people to be endangered by a privileged class. He wished that the Budget might be passed as a protection against the rapidly growing spirit of revolt among the democracy, which might become dangerous. The vote on Lord Lansdowne's resolution, which was to have been taken on November 25, was postponed five days. From this action, together with the effect of Lord Rosebery's speech, of Lord Cromer's declared intention not to vote, and of the moderate advice of others to the Lords, it does not seem so clear as it did a week ago that the upper house will reject the Budget incontinently. If the great Conservative majority, however, persists in following Lord Lansdowne's lead and rejecting the bill, the struggle which will ensue at the election in January will be momentous and may have tremendous results. It becomes clearer with every passing day that the battle will be fought on the constitutional question whether the Lords shall have any part in the control of the nation's finances. But the feeling of the country upon the more immediate question of the present Budget will have an important part in determining the decision to be made at the polls. The Government must have

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largely increased revenues to pay the cost of more battle-ships and old age pensions. As a means for securing this added revenue the Liberals offer increased taxes on property, and, coupled with them, added measures of social reform. The Conservatives offer tariff reform, which must mean in a country like England, whose imports are chiefly of foodstuffs, increased prices on the nation's daily bread. The issue therefore becomes doubly one between classes.

LABOR PARTY DEVELOPMENTS IN ENGLAND

During the many months while England has been in a political turmoil over the Lloyd-George Budget there have been two developments in the Labor party that at any other time would have attracted considerable newspaper attention. One of these concerns the Miners' Federation, and the other the Railway Clerks' Association. Originally the Miners' Federation was an organization that was chiefly confined to the mining counties of Staffordshire, Derbyshire, and Yorkshire. For the mining regions of South Wales, Lancashire, Durham, and Northumberland there were separate miners' unions—organized on county lines—which stood quite apart from the National Federation. As time has gone on, however, South Wales, Lancashire, Durham, and Northumberland have come into the Federation, whose sphere of operation—trade-unionist and political—now comprises all the coal-mining counties south of the Scottish border. Nine or ten of the members of the Liberal-Labor group in the House of Commons have long been closely affiliated with the Federation. These members are presidents or secretaries of county unions, and, in addition to their salaries for these services, their unions make them allowances to cover their expenses in London while in attendance on the House of Commons. At the time of the general election in 1906 the Miners' Federation was willing that these members should associate themselves with the Liberal party in Parliament and the constituencies, and should stand aloof from the thirty-odd members of the more advanced Labor party, who, like the Irish Nationalists, sit on the Opposition side of the Chamber. About a year ago, however, a plebiscite was taken of the members of the Miners' Federation on this question. It went in favor of the Independent or more advanced Labor party, and official notice was served by the Federation on the miner members of the Liberal-Labor group that at the next general election they must associate themselves with the Independent Labor party, and end the alliance with the Liberal party that had its beginning as far back as 1874, when direct representatives of labor first succeeded in securing seats in the House of Commons. At least three of the old Liberal-Labor group—the Right Honorable Thomas Burt, Mr. Charles Fenwick, one of the deputy chairmen of committees of the House of Commons, and Mr. John Wilson—decline to fall in with the new alignment, and at the next general election the probability is that these veteran and universally respected Labor leaders, if they find it practicable to continue in Parliament without the financial aid of their unions, will be compelled to fight for their seats against both Tory-Protectionist and Independent Labor party candidates.

ITS NEWEST RECRUITS

While the controversy over the position of these miners' members was going on the Railway Clerks' Union decided to affiliate itself with the Labor group in much the same way that the Miners' National Federation has done. The Railway Clerks' Union is a much smaller organization than the Miners' Federation. It has never had a direct representative in the House of Commons, and there is not one constituency in England in which railway clerks are sufficiently numerous to control a Parliamentary election by their votes. But the affiliation of the Railway Clerks' Union with the Labor party provides a nucleus for propaganda work in scores of the smaller towns in agricultural England in which hitherto the Labor party has not pushed its work; and therein lies some of the significance of the plebiscite by which affiliation with the Labor party was decided upon. Three plebiscites were taken before the decision was in favor of the Labor party. The first was in 1905, the second in 1907, and the third in October, 1909.

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The majority in favor of affiliation was 3,157. The last plebiscite is an indication of the progress which the Independent Labor movement has been making in the constituencies since 1906. It is officially admitted, however, that the turning of the adverse votes of 1905 and 1907 into a favorable vote in October was largely due to a success which the Labor party achieved in the House of Commons in the session of 1909. For years the North-Eastern Railway Company, which serves the industrial region lying between the Tyne and the Humber, had maintained a rule preventing any of its clerks from joining the Railway Clerks' Association. Last session the company had to apply to Parliament for statutory power to make some extensions. The Labor group seized their opportunity and held up the bill in the House of Commons until the railway company gave a pledge to withdraw the rule which had restrained its clerks from joining the union. At the next general election the Labor party is to have from ninety to a hundred candidates in the field. Like the old parties, it is busy with its preparations for the election; but in these it is much hampered by the fact that the decision of the House of Lords in the case arising out of trade union levies for the maintenance of Labor members has not yet been rendered.

NEW YORK, CONSTANTINOPLE, AND ROBERT COLLEGE

By the will of the late John Stewart Kennedy, gifts were catalogued on a scale of millions for educational and religious institutions, where hitherto one has read in thousands. Among the provisions which have most surprised the public was one and one-half million dollars for Robert College in Constantinople. To many people in America Robert College is little more than a name, and that generally spelled incorrectly with a final s, but to those who have learned of its forty-seven years of development Robert College is one of the greatest achievements of American education outside the United States. Fifty years ago there was no institution for higher education in the Turkish Empire. Christopher Robert, a New York merchant traveling in the East at the close of the Crimean War, became acquainted with this lack and looked with interest upon the scheme of an American college in Turkey. In Cyrus Hamlin Mr. Robert found the right man to carry out the project. In 1861 Mr. Robert supplied the money, $30,000, with which to begin work. Cyrus Hamlin, who for twenty years had been laboring in Constantinople, furnished the remarkable knowledge and undaunted courage that saved the college in its earliest years. Great and powerful enemies rose up to suppress this American institution. It was not the Turkish Government that looked with disfavor on the new school, but the emissaries of France and Russia, representing, as they did, the great Latin and Greek Churches. By them it was not thought well that an American liberal institution should be allowed to flourish on the banks of the Bosporus. Above all, this college should not be allowed to build on the superb site which Mr. Hamlin had secured, and on which the college now stands. Permission to build had been promised by the Turkish Government, but France and Russia stood in the way. The contest lasted for eight years. The United States, at this time, was not powerful at the Sublime Porte, and it was necessary to work largely through British diplomats. Time and again a successful settlement of the trouble was imminent, only to be thwarted by a change of Grand Viziers, a change of Ambassadors, or a new shuffle in the diplomatic game. In the meantime Robert College had started in old quarters and was growing—from four students in the first year to one hundred and three in the eighth year. Then came the startling news of a permit to build signed by the Sultan himself. An inviolable document of this sort had not even been hoped for. The story is too long to retell in this article. It is fascinatingly related in Dr. Hamlin's own romantic book, "My Life and Times." Admiral Farragut had recently visited Constantinople on his travels around the world, and when at various official dinners he mildly asked the question, "Why cannot this American college be built?" Turkey became uneasy. In order to gain the favor of the United States, which, it was feared, was ready

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to make a "thorny question" of the college, the Imperial permit was given. Mr. Robert immediately furnished the funds for the erection of a large building, now called Hamlin Hall, on the long-combated site. This building was occupied in 1871. From this time on until 1904 the college was under the wise leadership of the Rev. George Washburn, LL.D. Through seasons of plague and war, through crises of hostility, through periods of financial distress, for more than thirty years he carried the college onward by his own statesmanlike energy. At the age of seventy he resigned, having secured for the college a prestige that marks it among all other educational institutions in the Near East. It has helped to raise the standard of all other institutions, and in many cases to incite their very existence.

AMERICAN INFLUENCE ON TURKISH PROGRESS

All European capitals have known of Robert College since the events of the late seventies, which resulted in the freedom of Bulgaria. The college played an important part, through its President, and Dr. Albert Long, one of its professors, in shaping the events that led to Bulgaria's liberation, and the college has nurtured many of Bulgaria's best statesmen and diplomats. Again it is impossible to go into details, but within the past month Dr. Washburn has given to the public a notable book, "Fifty Years in Constantinople" (Houghton Mifflin Company), which tells the stirring episodes of these times. Dr. Washburn and Dr, Long received grateful recognition of their services from the Parliament of the nation that they had helped create, and both men were decorated by the ruler of Bulgaria. The college, high on the European shore, overlooks the blue Bosporus to the Asiatic hills. There is not a more beautiful site in the world. It is six miles from Constantinople, just at the point where Europe and Asia Minor come nearest to meeting. There are 450 students in Robert College, including the preparatory department—Armenians, Bulgarians, Greeks, Hebrews, and Turks. At present the largest group is the Greeks, who come from Asia Minor, European Turkey, the Kingdom of Greece, and the islands of the Ægean and Russia. Bulgaria, in its thirty years of independence, has developed its own fine school system, and the Bulgarian quota of students is therefore smaller than in earlier years. Under the old régime, Armenian students were rarely allowed to come to Constantinople from the interior, and Turks were prohibited by the Sultan from attending the college. In spite of this, there has always been an important contingent of Armenians in the college, and the Turks, in the face of the edict against their presence, have come, to the number of thirty in recent years. Under the new régime in Turkey there is a large opportunity for further growth in these directions, but at present the capacity of the college is more than taxed. The language of instruction is English. The students, many of whom are graduates of Greek or Bulgarian preparatory schools, devote the first year in college to learning the English language, after which they enter courses with the same text-books as are used in English and American colleges. Each student is also required, throughout his course, to pursue some work in his own language, and French or German or Turkish as an elective also forms an important part of the instruction. The native of the Near East is by instinct a linguist, with four to six languages interchangeably at his tongue's end. Except for the more important part given to languages, the course of instruction resembles that of an American college. There are some forty professors and teachers, of whom fifteen are American, three are French, two are German, and the remaining are members of the native races. The college course consists of five years, and the preparatory course may cover four years. Most of the students are not able, owing to their financial circumstances and to a desire to enter business at an early age, to pursue the full course, but each June the Commencement Day of the college, with a graduating class of from ten to thirty young men, is one of the notable events in Constantinople. The students live in large dormitory rooms, all nationalities mingling here, as elsewhere in their college life, without distinction. The college draws no line of nationality or religion in

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its effort to give some of the best youth of the Near East a high education with high ideals. Robert College has done much for education throughout the Ottoman Empire and the neighboring states. It has done much to make the name of America honored in that part of the world. Mr. Kennedy's splendid bequest has opened up new opportunities of service and responsibility.

IN RECOGNITION OF SAINT-GAUDENS

New York has recently been the scene of three remarkable gatherings of artists, men of letters, and others who represent the higher life of the city. The funeral services of Mr. Gilder, held in the Church of the Ascension, were attended by a host of those who honored and loved the man and who recognized his services to the city of New York. On the same evening, in the rooms of the Fine Arts Society, an unusual number of men and women of position in the arts gathered to witness the presentation to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens of the gold medal of the National Institute of Arts and Letters awarded to the sculpture of her husband. In its last issue The Outlook gave some account of this very important organization of the men of the fine arts in this country, with a fuller account of the American Academy of Arts and Letters which has grown out of it. One of the functions of the National Institute is to recognize the achievements of men of genius in the arts, and one form which this acknowledgment will take is the presentation of medals. The presentation of the first medal was made by Dr. Henry van Dyke, President of the Institute, who presided with that felicity of feeling and of phrase which tenderly brings into view the significant aspects of a commemoration. Mr. Royal Cortissoz emphasized, in an intimate and happy way, "The Influence of Saint-Gaudens," pointing out his various gifts and commenting especially on his sane and balanced influence on the younger artists of the country:

> His influence was acknowledged, consciously or unconsciously, in a thousand different directions. If the young sculptor, working under Saint-Gaudens or not, strove the harder at his task, in the hope that he might be worthy of the leader of his profession in this country, architects and committees everywhere also insensibly came to admit the obligation that he had done so much to lay upon them. Everybody knows how the character of our public monuments has been improving and how the sculpture on our public buildings is greater in quantity and better in quality every year. This is because we have been developing a competent school of sculpture, filled with able men of Saint-Gaudens's generation and with younger artists trained by him and by them. But I think that all these sculptors and their fellows in painting and architecture will unite in agreement upon the great impetus that he gave to the standard they uphold. By precept and example, as an artist and as a man of character, he exerted an influence making for progress. This medal that brings us here to-night is not simply in honor of a man who is gone—it is in honor of an artistic force that is still working.

In the absence of Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, who had prepared an ode for the occasion, several stanzas were read. In presenting the medal to Mrs. Saint-Gaudens, Dr. van Dyke quoted from Mr. Gilder these words on Saint-Gaudens's statues:

> "Once, lo! these shapes were not, now do they live,
> And shall forever in the heart of men;
> And from this life shall spring again,
> To souls unborn new light and joy to give."

A letter of thanks from Mr. Homer Saint-Gaudens was read; and delightful music volunteered by the Kneisel Quartet, introduced by Dr. van Dyke, as bringing the tribute of a kindred art, Music—"Love in search of a word," to quote Lanier—brought the meeting to a close.

IN HONOR OF A GREAT ARCHITECT

Not less significant was a memorial meeting in honor of the late Charles Follen McKim, at the New Theater on Tuesday afternoon of last week, assembled in response to invitations from a large number of societies of architects, sculptors, painters, men of letters, and learned institutions; a remarkable tribute of the organized arts of the country to the service of a man of charming personality whose genius as an architect was allied with the feeling and passion of the artist. Mr. Choate outlined briefly, and in his own inimitable fashion, the early career of Mr. McKim, dwelling especially on his delightful relations with his father and mother, and tracing his education—his indebtedness to

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Richardson and Hunt, the inspiration he received from Saint-Gaudens, his intimate and brotherly association with the members of his firm, and the wonderful opportunity afforded young architects of ability in this country at the time when Mr. McKim's career was beginning. Senator Root enumerated Mr. McKim's public services in the restoration of the White House, the building of the Executive Office, the labor put on the great plans for the beautification of Washington, and his constant readiness to be consulted by the Government in regard to all matters relating to architecture and art. Mr. Root declared that Mr. McKim had been courageous beyond ordinary capacity to comprehend, and that, although he was very sensitive and had a certain hesitancy of manner, he never could surrender what he believed to be right in art. Mr. Robert Peabody, the eminent Boston architect, gave a delightful account of Mr. McKim's life as a student in Paris. Mr. Walter Cook spoke of his sanity and his abiding influence on younger architects. There were other appreciations also from Harvard University, from the Boston Library, from Columbia University, and from the New York Public Library. Music was furnished by the Mendelssohn Society Glee Club, of which Mr. McKim was an early and enthusiastic member. Perhaps the most significant aspect of the memorial was the presence of a large number of men of the highest distinction in the various arts.

ANOTHER PHASE OF THE NEW PROTECTION IN AUSTRALIA

The New Protection is to figure prominently in the approaching general election for the Parliament of the Commonwealth of Australia, for there is to be a plebiscite on a constitutional amendment intended to make it possible to enforce the new economic ideas. It was in 1906 that the New Protection was first tentatively put in operation. It was then confined to the agricultural machinery industry, and the aim was to break up trusts which controlled the importation of farm machinery into the Commonwealth, and which derived huge profits from the monopoly. In 1907, however, the general protective tariff of the Commonwealth was revised, and, as was the case in Canada in 1905–6, a Government Commission held an exhaustive inquiry before the new schedules were submitted to Parliament. In many of these schedules the rates finally adopted were much higher than those recommended by the Royal Commission, and as a result the tariff of 1907 gave Australian manufacturers a larger measure of protection than they had enjoyed either under the old tariffs of the States in the years before the organization of the Commonwealth or under the first Commonwealth tariff. These high rates, applicable in the main against imports from Great Britain, were justified on three distinct grounds: (1) That it was expedient to follow the example of Canada and the United States, and build up home industries; (2) that the bill in which these schedules were embodied was so framed as to compel manufacturers to share the advantages of high duties with their workpeople; and (3) that it contained clauses designed to protect consumers from extortion by the manufacturers. It is on account of these last two principles that the name New Protection has been applied to the existing Commonwealth tariff. In 1907, when the tariff bill was going through the House of Representatives and the Senate at Sydney, the manufacturers intimated their willingness to act up to these two principles. Had they withheld their consent, the bill must have failed; because the Labor party, which in Australia is protectionist, held the balance of power in both houses, and could at any time have overturned the Government. When the bill had become law, however, the protected manufacturers wriggled out of their bargain. They took a case under the wages clause to the Supreme Court, where the clause was pronounced unconstitutional; and in a similar spirit they have made of no avail the clauses which were designed to shield consumers from being compelled by trusts and combinations to pay up to the full limit of the tariff protection. In the face of these conditions the Government was compelled by the Labor party to make some movement. Accordingly there was another Royal Commission. This Commission has now reported that only principle No. 1 of the Act of 1907 has been in operation, and

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that principles Nos. 2 and 3 cannot be be made to work until there is a constitutional amendment which will give the Government larger statutory powers over wages and prices in protected industries.

REPRESENTATIVE DE ARMOND

Not only because of his prominence in the House of Representatives has the death of Mr. De Armond made a wide and deep impression on the public mind, but also because of the tragic character of that death. Mr. De Armond lost his life in a fire which burned the house in which he lived and in which he was asleep at the time. What adds poignancy to his death is the fact that it came while he was trying to rescue from the flames his little grandson. David A. De Armond, who was sixty-five years old, had been a Representative from Missouri since 1891. He was a radical Democrat of the Bryan type, and had many ideas and plans for what he regarded as necessary reform. He advocated and urged a number of Constitutional amendments. By these he would have established woman's suffrage throughout the Nation, he would have secured uniformity in marriage and divorce laws, he would have enabled Congress to deal with the liquor traffic, he would have enabled the Federal Government to engage in insurance, he would have provided for the popular election of Senators, he would have made the Presidential term six years and the President ineligible for re-election, he would have changed the date of inauguration, and he would have brought the time of the assembling of Congress nearer to the time of election. In spite of the fact that Mr. De Armond thus seems to have been of visionary temperament, he was as able and practical a parliamentarian as sat on the Democratic side, and was prominent among those who have been considered for the party leadership in the House. His integrity and honesty were acknowledged even by those who most emphatically differed from him in judgment with regard to public affairs. President Taft in his telegram of sympathy to Mrs. De Armond spoke of her husband as one with whom he had been very intimate and whose friendship he valued

THE STANDARD OIL CASE

On another page we have given a statement of the facts in the Standard Oil case. We here interpret the much commented on and somewhat widely misinterpreted decision.

There were three questions before the Court: (1) What is the legal intent and effect of the Anti-Trust Law? (2) Had Congress Constitutional power to pass such a law? (3) Is the organization of the Standard Oil Company and are its practices a violation of that law? In the following interpretation of the decision of the Court we shall use as far as possible its language, but without attempting verbal conformity.

I. The purpose of the law is to prevent the stifling of competition in inter-State or foreign commerce, either by a combination of several individuals for that purpose, or by the actions of a single individual. Not every restriction nor every combination which has the effect to restrict competition is illegal. If the chief result is to foster trade and increase business, it is not illegal merely because it incidentally and indirectly restricts competition; but it is illegal, whatever the combination and however effected, if a substantial restriction of competition is its necessary effect. The evil aimed at by the law is monopoly; and whatever directly tends to produce monopoly is a violation of the law. And if the combination confers on those who control it *power* to maintain a monopoly, the intent to maintain one will be presumed, because it is to the interest of the parties that the power should be exercised, and the presumption is that it will be exercised.

II. The Constitution gives Congress authority to pass such a law. The power given to Congress by the Constitution to regulate inter-State and foreign commerce involves power to regulate the method of holding property employed in inter-State and foreign commerce, and any other instrumentality employed in such commerce, so far as the exercise of such power may be necessary to prevent the restraint of trade.

III. The charges against the Standard Oil Company are two: (1) That it is a combination of corporations and individuals the necessary effect of which is to

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stifle competition, an effect which the law must presume was intended. (2) That the power conferred on the Standard Oil Company by this combination has, in fact, been used to stifle competition and so restrain trade. Both of these charges the Court finds, on the evidence submitted to it, to be true.

The Court traces in detail the history of the organization of the Standard Oil Company, and finds that its necessary effect, and therefore its presumed purpose, was to establish a monopoly.

Whether the combination formed before the Anti-Trust Law was enacted was a violation of the common law the Court declines to consider. That combination is significant only as indicating the purpose of the combination subsequently formed. That the companies entering into that subsequent combination were not previously competing companies did not give them a legal right to make a new monopolistic combination. That the stockholders had a legal right to dispose of their stock in any way they saw fit the Court denies. They had no legal right to dispose of it in such a way as to create a monopoly. That the Standard Oil Company is not a railway does not distinguish the case from the Northern Securities Case. The power of Congress over inter-State and foreign commerce is not limited to railways. By the trust of 1899 more than thirty corporations were combined with the principal company, and that company was given power to fix the rates of transportation and the purchase and selling prices which all the companies in the combination should receive and pay for petroleum. Such a combination is in itself a combination in restraint of trade, and is therefore illegal.

But the United States further charged that this illegal power had been used in illegal methods to stifle competition. It averred—

> that at various times between 1870 and the date of the filing of the bill the defendants (1) secured from common carriers preferential rates and rebates, (2) made contracts with some of their competitors which limited the production, output, and markets of the latter, (3) operated companies represented to be independent when they were not so, (4) procured from employees of railroads information of the trade of competitors and used it to destroy the latter's business and to secure the commerce for themselves, and (5) sold their products at times and places where there was competition below remunerative prices and recouped their losses by selling such products at high prices at other times and places.

As the Court held that the combination formed in 1899 was in itself illegal and its continuing existence was illegal, it did not pass upon the above charges in detail. But, without doing so, it held, not only that the combination was in itself a violation of the first section of the Anti-Trust Law, which forbids a combination in restraint of trade, but also that the power created by this combination had been so used as to violate the second section, which forbids every attempt to monopolize any part of trade or commerce among the States or with foreign nations. The exact language of the Court is:

> Upon the ground that the defendants have thus violated, and are violating, the second section of the act as fully as upon the ground that they have violated its first section, the decree in favor of the Government must be and is based.

The decree of the Court is in accordance with these principles. It forbids the holding company—the Standard Oil Company of New Jersey—to vote on the stock of the subsidiary companies which it holds; it forbids the subsidiary companies to pay dividends on their stock to the New Jersey Standard Oil Company; it forbids any new combination by the sale of either the stocks or the physical properties to any one of the parties; it forbids in general terms any other combination for the control of prices or rates of transportation; and it forbids the parties to the combination from continuing in the business "during the continuance of the illegal combination." This injunction will go into effect in thirty days unless an appeal is taken, in which case it will take effect in thirty days after the decision of the appeal, if that decision is in the affirmative.

There are three courses open to the Standard Oil Company if this decision is affirmed on appeal. It may accept the decision, dissolve the combination, and in good faith re-establish competition. It may employ legal talent to discover some new way of making a monopolistic com-

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bination which will enable it to continue its control. It may appeal to Congress to modify the Anti-Trust Law so as to permit a continuance of the combination. We are glad to say that Mr. William Rockefeller is reported as announcing, apparently authoritatively, that the second course will not be pursued, that there will be no attempt to evade the law after a final decision upon it has been reached. The Outlook believes in great industrial organizations. It has declared itself (April 11, 1908) in favor of the amendment of the Anti-Trust Law proposed by the Civic Federation, facilitating such organizations under Government repression and control. This decision tends to emphasize the desirability of that amendment, because it indicates that the law already recognizes the essential principle which that amendment embodies. That principle is that no commodity essential to the welfare of the people should be permitted by the Government to pass under the private control of any person or corporation. Any change in the Anti-Trust Law should be based on that principle. Combinations which have not private monopoly as their essential effect and therefore their presumptive purpose are legal; they should not be made illegal. On the other hand, combinations formed for the purpose and with the effect of founding such private monopoly are illegal. Congress ought not to make, and we do not believe that Congress will make, such combinations legal.

THE CHRISTMAS WORKERS

Christmas is at hand, and an army of men and women are looking forward to the rush and weariness of the season with dismay and something very like hatred in their hearts. For three weeks a mob of shoppers will confront them, eager and impatient, many of them to the last degree exacting and inconsiderate. Their working hours will be long and the air they breathe heavy and noisome; many of them will stand from early morning until far into the night under artificial light. Not only will the large shops be besieged by an army of weary and often irritated shoppers, but every means of transportation will be taxed to the utmost; delivery and express wagons will be packed high, and a host of men and boys will do three months' work in three weeks; when Christmas morning dawns, weary thousands will greet it, not with joy, but with a sigh of relief that another season of body-racking work is past.

It is a bitter irony which has made the great festival of God's love for his children a shopping season of such intensity that those who buy and those who sell are alike brought to the verge of exhaustion, and that what ought to be an outpouring of affection, a warm and tender expression of friendship, has become a carnival of hurried buying and selling, an occasion of enormous trade distribution. A day of joy and thanksgiving has become for many a day of exhausted brain and body; a day of weariness so debilitating that it makes any feeling of gratitude or sense of obligation to God for his great gift a mockery.

That men and women should wish to remember their friends at Christmas is a normal expression of the love which the day commemorates. But they ought also to remember the hundreds of thousands who stand behind counters hour after hour, facing multitudes who do not realize the tax on strength they are making by compressing the work of a season into two or three weeks. Various organizations are making appeals to shoppers to make their purchases at once. The Outlook urges upon its readers the utmost consideration for those whose duty it is to "stand and wait" during the weeks between Thanksgiving and Christmas. Make your purchases at once; don't wait until the last week; don't make the beautiful festival a mockery to those whose welfare ought to be as dear to you as the welfare of your friends.

And do not compress into a single short season the kindliness and helpfulness which ought to touch the whole year with the Christmas spirit. Dr. Jefferson's striking little book "Christmas Builders" (Crowell) ought to be in everybody's hands when the day of the Nativity comes:

> Christmas is not a day, it is a mood. It is independent of days. We celebrate it on Friday, Saturday, Sunday, any day of the week. Christmas is indifferent to days. It has nothing to do with the almanac. It has nothing to do with place. It is as independent of geography as it is of chronology. It has no relation to human government or even

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to race or blood. It is an institution which can be set up on any soil and under the folds of any flag. Christmas is a spiritual creation and belongs to the kingdom of the heart. It is constructed by the angels of the heart of a child. If it then be a mood, it can be extended over a week, a month, a year, a lifetime. It can be built upon time, upon eternity. If you confine it to a day, you miss the meaning of it. If you try to cram it into twenty-four hours, you crush it and lose the essence of it. The Christmas spirit is the only spirit by which men and women really live.

MR. LAFFAN AND THE SUN

As a newspaper The Outlook cannot let pass unnoticed in its columns the death of Mr. William M. Laffan, for the last nine years proprietor and editor of the New York Sun. Although as a distinct personality he was unknown to the newspaper readers of the country, in the sense in which Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, of the New York World, or Colonel Henry Watterson, of the Louisville Courier-Journal, or Mr. George W. Childs, of the Philadelphia Ledger, or Mr. Charles A. Dana, of the New York Sun, or Mr. W. R. Hearst, of the New York American, has been known to the public, Mr. Laffan was, in certain directions, one of the most influential of modern American journalists. By nationality an Irishman, born in Dublin sixty years ago, he became a student at the famous university of his native city. He first chose the profession of medicine, abandoned that for the professional study of art, and abandoned that for journalism, which he made his life work. When a young man of twenty, he settled in San Francisco as a member of the staff of the San Francisco Chronicle. From San Francisco he moved to Baltimore, where he purchased an interest in The Daily Bulletin of that city, contributing to his paper illustrations as well as editorials. He next became for a short time General Passenger Agent of the Long Island Railroad. In 1877, however, he joined the staff of The Sun, and was thereafter, and until the day of his death, intimately connected with the administration of that journal. During the years of his proprietorship he directed it in every detail as well as writing constantly for its editorial page. Although tireless in his vocation of journalist, he was equally devoted to his chief avocation—that of an accomplished connoisseur of art. He was a recognized authority in more than one branch of the pictorial and plastic arts, his specialty perhaps being the field of Oriental ceramics. He was a hard-working and eminently useful trustee of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, and was, The Sun itself announces, the confidential adviser in art affairs of Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan, Mr. Henry Walters, and other great American collectors. Possessing an acute and brilliant literary style, having at his command a fund of wide experience of men and affairs, and with the great advantage of the knowledge of an expert in the liberal arts, he had an unusual opportunity of becoming a great figure in one of the greatest of the modern professions—the profession of journalism. In our judgment, he lamentably failed.

To point out where and why Mr. Laffan failed is not a pleasant duty; it would be much more agreeable to follow the comfortable doctrine of *de mortuis nil nisi bonum*, and dwell upon his services in behalf of American art. It is certainly difficult, if not impossible, to point out one great governmental reform or one recognized political principle—except the outworn and unworkable principle of *laissez-faire*, let-us-alone—which Mr. Laffan consistently espoused in the pages of his newspaper. It is said by his apologists that he was "an enemy of cant and humbug." This is not an inopportune time to remember that there is a cant and humbug of cynicism as well as a cant and humbug of phariseeism. Contempt and lampoonry, the weapons with which The Sun has habitually attacked a long list of American public men, including Presidents Grant, Hayes, Cleveland, and Roosevelt, are not the weapons by which the moral power of human progress is in the long run sustained. The New York Sun has justly and to its credit been called the newspaper man's newspaper. Journalists appreciate its incisive English, its wit, which is often brilliant, and its humor, which is often infectious. But we should think ourselves cowardly if as journalists we did not take this occasion to protest that great journalism is not merely the art of writing "sharp paragraphs where a smile or a sting lies hid-

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den"—a form of editorial writing in which The Sun itself intimates that Mr. Laffan excelled. The Messrs. Walter, of the London Times, in spite of its carefully preserved dignity, and Mr. R. H. Hutton, of the London Spectator, in spite of its serious-minded sobriety, exercised an influence on English political and social institutions which the Dana and Laffan school of journalism has utterly failed to achieve in this country. Mr. Laffan, his apologists assert, did not practice "yellow journalism." In the common acceptance of this term, it is undoubtedly true that he rejected yellow journalism; it was offensive to his æsthetic taste. Yet we are not sure but that the yellow journalism of the vulgar money-maker, bad as it is, is better for the community than the black journalism of the malevolent cynic. Mr. Laffan will be remembered, not as a great editor, but as a brilliantly bitter cynic, like his more famous fellow-Dublinian Jonathan Swift, to whom, said Thackeray, honest old Dr. Johnson "takes off his hat with a bow of surly recognition, scans him from head to foot, and passes over to the other side of the street."

AN ELECTIVE BOSS

One of the dangers of democracy as it has been worked out in the United States is the dissipation of responsibility. Government of the people by the people tends to be regarded as government by everybody; and what is everybody's business is nobody's business. If a private concern were managed by no one in particular, it could not survive. Even in a household there must be some concentration of responsibility. If in a private concern nobody were held accountable for the safekeeping of the funds, if in a household no one were supposed regularly to see that the house was locked up at night, the funds would soon disappear and the doors and windows of the house would night after night remain unfastened. What is true of the private concern and of the household is also true of public affairs. If public affairs are to be carried on at all, somebody must bear the burden of seeing that they are carried on.

This sounds like a truism; but it is a truism that has been neglected. Much of American political practice has been developed out of the theory that if public officials are hampered and checked and limited so that no one of them can be held responsible for any one thing, none of them can do any harm. The theory seems to be that public business must be made everybody's business.

The result is that private interests, which are often opposed to the interests of the public, have assumed the function which the public has neglected to place elsewhere, and have succeeded in carrying on public affairs to their own advantage. One of the great problems of democracy to-day is restoration of real power to the public through the concentration of responsibility. Propositions to concentrate responsibility for public affairs upon a few men are therefore propositions, not to restrict, but to enhance the power of democracy.

The suggestion which Mr. Bonaparte makes in his article printed elsewhere in this issue concerns one phase of a very widespread movement towards concentration of responsibility. Another phase of that movement is the "short ballot;" another is the experiment in the commission form of municipal government; another is the creation of appointive rather than elective commissions. This phase, however, deals with the source, so to speak, of responsibility—the naming of candidates for public office.

It is with this phase of the movement that Governor Hughes has been dealing in his campaign for direct nominations. The distinctive contribution which Governor Hughes and his coadjutors have made to the system of direct nominations is in this very direction of centering upon party leaders responsibility for the naming of candidates. According to the Hinman-Green Bill, which was introduced under the Governor's sanction in the New York Legislature at its last session, the party leaders were required to suggest men for nomination, and on the same ballot which bore their suggestions the names of the leaders themselves, if they wished a continuance of their leadership, were to appear for re-election. So if the suggestions which the leaders made were unsatisfactory to the voters of the party,

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not only could the suggestions be rejected, but also the leaders themselves.

This plan of Governor Hughes is a practical formulation of the principle which Mr. Bonaparte states, and is buttressed by Mr. Bonaparte's arguments. Fundamentally, what Governor Hughes has planned and what Mr. Bonaparte suggests are the same. Each is based on the truth that the way to deal with irresponsible power in public men is not to try to do away with the power, but to increase the responsibility.

WASHINGTON GLADDEN

It is always both difficult and hazardous to write an estimate of a man while he is living: difficult, because the consciousness that he may read what is written is an obstacle to candor; hazardous, because one never absolutely knows what a life is until it ends. In the case of Washington Gladden both the difficulty and the hazard are reduced to a minimum, because one is certain that he does not desire a friendly estimate, only a candid one, and because his life has been so full and so open to the world that one may rest assured that it has no possibilities of disagreeable surprises in the future. The immediate occasion for this estimate is his volume of "Recollections" (Houghton Mifflin Company), a volume autobiographical rather than an autobiography; a summary of his public teaching interpreted by its historical setting, rather than an anecdotal record of the incidents of his life or the personalities he has met. In short, the book is less a biography than an account of the progress of the last half-century by one who has had a very important part in making that progress possible. It is an important footnote to the history of America in one of its most critical periods.

The distinctive characteristics of Washington Gladden are courage, candor, and common sense. What we mean by common sense is a clear perception of that sense which is common to all classes in the community. A suggestive writer on law—Professor Dicey, of Oxford, we believe—has pointed out that England had a common law but France had none, because England unified the customs and traditions of her various counties and out of them created a law common to them all, while in France provincial customs and traditions remained provincial until the Code Napoleon. Common sense has its analogue in the common law. It recognizes the fact that there are certain basic principles of action—some of them ethical, some of them prudential—which are common to the hidden life of man, to what some psychologists call the unconscious self, and which bind men of different classes, types, conditions, and races together in a common humanity, and make it possible to speak of Man, in capital letters, as a generic being. Any moral code which embodies the customs, conventions, or duties of a particular time or place proves transient. Any code which embodies the universal though unexpressed consciousness of the human race knows no bounds of time or space. In this sense the Ten Commandments are an illustration of common sense in religion. Reverence for God, respect for parents, preservation of some time for rest from the drudgery of toil, honesty, humanity, purity, and truthfulness, appeal to all men, because in the deeper life of man there is something which recognizes the rightness and the beauty of these experiences. So the Lord's Prayer is a universal prayer because the desires for food, for forgiveness, for guidance, for moral strength, are universal desires not confined to the spiritually *élite* or to the votaries of any creed.

Whoever has this common sense, that is, this realization of the appetites, the passions, the desires, the ambitions, the ethical and spiritual principles which belong not merely to men but to Man, and which distinguish him from the brute creation on the one hand and from man's ideal of angelic innocence on the other, has the first prerequisite for a great teacher and a great moral leader; though to be either he must also have the ability, the candor, and the courage to express with clearness, with frankness, and with power the faith which is in him. He may not be a great inventor or discoverer—a Newton in science or a Hegel in philosophy. But he can, if he will, be a great teacher. For men are taught chiefly, not by being told what they never knew before, but by being made to know

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what they only half knew; not by information added to their store, but by developing power before lying dormant in them; not by teachers who think for them, but by teachers who inspire them to think for themselves. This common sense, that is, this power to perceive and interpret the hidden life of men, characterized the teachings of Jesus Christ, of whom it is said He knew what was in men, and who spake with authority because to his teaching the souls of his auditors in all time have uttered an almost universal Amen.

We cannot better illustrate what we mean by common sense than by a dramatic incident in the undramatic life of Washington Gladden. In 1886 a philanthropist of Cleveland brought employed and employers together in a mass-meeting, and invited Dr. Gladden to address them. "While I was laying down the law to the employers, the men cheered heartily; when I began to drive home to them their own blunders and sins, they were less demonstrative, but presently evinced their fairness by cheering the points that were scored against themselves. And at the end, after a warm appeal for peace, the prolonged applause was a most grateful testimony that the hearts of fifteen hundred workingmen were in the right place." The next week he delivered the same address as a lecture in Tremont Temple to an audience mainly of the employing class, presided over by the Governor of the State; and at its close was invited to repeat it in the same hall to an audience of workingmen, to whom the hall was to be made free. "On that occasion," he says, "I had with me on the platform several employers and several labor leaders, among them the head organizer of Massachusetts of the Knights of Labor; and at the close of the address every one of those men indorsed, without qualification, my argument and appeal."

This common sense, that is, this realization of what is common to humanity, both its better and its worse elements, enabled Dr. Gladden to understand and interpret both the North and the South in the Reconstruction period, and to point out then what has become patent to all the world since, the folly of an ignorant doctrinairism which did not know what was in men, and therefore was not characterized by common sense; it enabled him to see the sources of iniquity, as well as the overt acts, in the Tweed Ring, and to give effectual aid in evoking the civic conscience against the freebooters; and it made it easy for him to appreciate both the scientific temperament and the religious temperament, and to be a leader in the movement for that more rational theology which was absolutely essential to the preservation of a Christian faith. On one important point only has The Outlook as an interpreter found itself compelled to differ with Dr. Gladden. In his campaign against what was called "tainted money" we thought, and still think, that he misinterpreted a widespread popular prejudice, which he shared, for a fundamental ethical principle common to humanity. Time alone can show which of us was right. But our dissent from his judgment in that case does nothing to lessen our admiration for his moral gift.

That gift for moral discernment which the New Testament calls faith has been accompanied in Dr. Gladden with great clarity of style, great candor in utterance, and absolute and generally unheated courage. This combination has made him a figure of National importance as well as of National eminence. Whether as preacher, lecturer, author, or editor, he has been not only on the right side, but in the front ranks of the right side. He has often been in advance of his times, but he has lived to see the times overtake him. He has understood not merely the American questions; he has understood the American judgment and the American conscience, nor less clearly the American vices. By interpreting Americans to themselves he has aroused their better nature and set it in battle array against their worse selves. This has made him a great teacher and a great moral reformer. And his work has been done—so far as we can judge from the reading of his "Recollections" and a lifelong acquaintance with the man—not under the impulse of an ambition to be esteemed great, but under the impulse of the ambition to render to his day and generation the greatest service which his abilities and his opportunities enabled him to render.

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THE SPECTATOR

The Spectator is lucky enough to know a farmer who is also a poet. It is a pity that these two vocations do not more often go together—the one of them offers such excellent material to the other. The poet who is also a farmer does not have to bother himself about the elusive and inadequate medium of words; he writes himself out boldly on the fields or secretly in the hedges, but simply, directly, in either case, in the purest form of beauty. The seasons consenting with him, there is almost no end to the lovely effects he can produce, to the noble results he can cause to appear. He can see to it that his portion of earth goes through the revolving processes of the year, not only in an orderly fashion, but also very beautifully, making the most of its successive phases to gladden the eye and heart as well as to stock the cellar.

This particular farmer-poet whom the Spectator knows has a custom which made a red-letter evening for the Spectator and one of his friends a little while ago. Not a red-letter day; no, let other farmers burn their brush by day, if they will; this farmer has a finer sense of the fitness of things. The Spectator had noticed him at work in his meadows for days before the invitation came; at work with an ax and a rake, moving slowly, a peaceful figure and a deeply satisfying one in the autumn fields. Fortunately, the Spectator thought more of the simple and dignified effect of the man's presence than of the nature of the task he had in hand, so that the final summons was an entire surprise to him.

"I've got my brush about ready to burn now." Thus the farmer, stopping before the Spectator's gate, and looking across it with meditative eyes. "Don't you and H—— want to come over this evening and see the blaze?" Did they want to? One does not have many engagements in the country, but the Spectators would have broken twenty engagements for such a chance as this.

It was a still evening, cloudy and mild, no stars, no wind—exactly the kind of an evening for a brush-burning. Doubtless the farmer-poet knew that this would be so before he laid his plans. One comes to foretell the weather closely when one is a poet-farmer. Out in a dusky open meadow, with the vague mountains looming about, the two Spectators groped their way to a little knoll which had been selected as their vantage-ground. They could barely make out the dim shapes of a few brush-heaps rising before them; and, as the light faded, they lost the outlines even of those few. Everything vanished; they were remote in a still realm of enchantment out there, with the autumn night brooding close around them, and no sound except the weird call of an owl from the distant swamp. Then the poet-farmer took leave of them, and went down the hill to his poem.

When the first pile of brush leaped into flame, a change came over the world. The night stirred, roused itself, fled away from this alien center of radiance; then, almost instantly, gathered its reinforced powers, and tried to press back again. From a soft gray nebulous spirit it had been smitten into an inky blackness; from a formless nothingness it had become a very definite, threatening presence, hovering, darting about the edge of the shifting dominion of the rival that dared to contest its right. Long, clutching fingers it reached and withdrew, arrows of darkness it shot to the heart of the pulsing glory, but all in vain; the fire defied it, and shot its own arrows until the night was driven so far that the Spectators ceased to remember it. The fire not only usurped the scene, but monopolized all attention. Before the first brush-heap began to flag it sent summoning messages to its neighbor along the short, brush-strewn bit of ground which lay between them, and then the careful excellence of the plan of this conflagration became apparent. Not a random collection of piles was this, but a systematic company, ordered to subserve and fulfill one glorious effect.

Nor did the spectacle lack that last essential element of success—reserve and surprise. Delighted as the Spectators were at the first revelation, and admirable as

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they found it to be, they little imagined to what an extent it was going to unfold itself. The breadth of the scheme dawned slowly upon them as, little by little, the lurking shapes of the farther and still farther piles emerged from the grudging night. There must have been twenty or thirty of them, arranged in great sweeping curves which took on an utterly magical effect—or illusion—of perspective. The Spectators knew very well that this meadow did not consist of more than an acre or two. Yet, as they gazed with their spellbound eyes, the scene before them widened and widened, distance on distance was added to it, and they seemed to be looking at last on the burning of a great city on the horizon. A city, yes, surely! There were the smoldering masses of houses, there were the riddled shells of the palaces, and the toppling towers—ah! what a crash, what a fall was there! Yet no echo of tumult came to the ear. Only a crisp crackle now and then and a soft rush and sigh. Perhaps the Spectators were looking across a great reach, not only of space, but of time; perhaps they were watching the burning of Rome or of Valhalla. Completely carried out of themselves and of their real surroundings, they sat with fixed eyes and bated breath, until, lo! what was that? They started up, gasped, and laughed out together, there on their little knoll. Only the figure of the farmer-poet stepping out casually in front of one of the blazing heaps; but so abruptly did he correct the illusive perspective that he seemed, for an instant, enormous, colossal, a god, Wotan himself with his staff. Then the distant city rushed into place in the foreground, the towers and palaces were known for burning branches of maple and ash, and all was as it was.

But alas that the function of poet-farmer is not understood, not appreciated, by all the world! It is now the Spectator's task to record a painful sequel to this evening of delight.

"Well, I swan! Well, I'll be ——"

One of the Spectators was a lady; so the harsh voice, breaking out of the gloom behind the little knoll, died away in an eloquent silence. Both the Spectators turned with a start, and there was a man's head rising breathless above the crest of the knoll. His shoulders were up, too, and it was apparent that he was girt with a huge rubber hose, and that he carried a pail in either hand. He was very funny—the look on his face was so utterly dashed at first, and his indignation struggled so vainly with it. The mocking firelight leaped upon him, as on its rightful prey, and played all sorts of whimsical tricks with his features and his shadow. But it was not long that amazement held him. He strode over the top of the knoll, deposited his pails, and addressed the poet-farmer, who had come forward from the glowing heart of his masterpiece and stood passively awaiting the wrath which he knew was to come.

"A bonfire!" Such a concentrated essence of scorn is incommunicable by the pen. "A bonfire! Perhaps you don't know that you've roused the hull valley, that all the folks is up and out over yonder! They'll be here pretty soon, I guess. It's too bad that they should be missing any of the show. I'm glad I started out so spry. You see, I own the longest hose in town, and I thought I'd better hurry. The idee's around that all the houses on this road are on fire. I tell you what, you folks"—here irony succumbed to the fell clutch of earnest indignation—"when your houses do get on fire, they can burn to the ground for all o' me!'

It was a withering moment. Why is it that the exalted cause of the farmer-poet always suffers instant collapse beneath the touch of his more practical brother? This farmer-poet recovered himself and apologized handsomely; but it appeared that his explanation did not explain, for the man with the hose stalked grimly away, deigning no further comment. Perhaps he met the "hull valley" and warned it of the folly of its alarm; perhaps it had already warned itself. At any rate, it did not arrive; and the Spectators and the poet-farmer were left to stamp out the chuckling fire and to make their way home, possessed of a guilty exultation which was not half so unpleasant as it should have been.

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THE A B C OF CONSERVATION

BY GIFFORD PINCHOT

UNITED STATES FORESTER

The immediate interest attaching to the fundamental problems of conservation has led The Outlook to ask Mr. Pinchot, the highest American authority on such questions, to send to it for its readers such positive and clear answers as would give the average uninformed citizen the reasons for this public interest. The questions asked were these: 1. What does Conservation stand for? 2. What has Conservation to do with the welfare of the average man to-day? 3. What is the danger to the Conservation policies in the coming session of Congress? 4. Why is it important to protect the water powers? 5. How must it be done? 6. Does the same principle apply to navigable streams as to non-navigable? Mr. Pinchot's answers as contained in his reply will be found below.—THE EDITORS.

THE questions contained in your letter of November 18 are well worth answering, and I am glad to reply:

1. What does Conservation stand for?

The central thing for which Conservation stands is to make this country the best possible place to live in, both for us and for our descendants. It stands against the waste of the natural resources which cannot be renewed, such as coal and iron; it stands for the perpetuation of the resources which can be renewed, like the food-producing soils and the forests; and, most of all, it stands for an equal opportunity for every American citizen to get his fair share of benefit from these resources, both now and hereafter.

Conservation stands for the same kind of practical common-sense management of this country by the people that every business man stands for in the handling of his own business. It believes in prudence and foresight instead of reckless blindness; it holds that resources now public property should not become the basis for oppressive private monopoly; and it demands the complete and orderly development of all our resources for the benefit of all the people, instead of the partial exploitation of them for the benefit of a few. It recognizes fully the right of the present generation to use what it needs and all it needs of the natural resources now available, but it recognizes equally our obligation so to use what we need that our descendants shall not be deprived of what they need.

2. What has Conservation to do with the welfare of the average man to-day?

Conservation has much to do with the welfare of the average man to-day. It proposes to secure a continuous and abundant supply of the necessaries of life, which means a reasonable cost of living and business stability. It advocates fairness in the distribution of the benefits which flow from the natural resources. It will matter very little to the average citizen when scarcity comes and prices rise, whether he cannot get what he needs because there is none left or because he cannot afford to pay for it. In both cases the essential fact is that he cannot get what he needs. Conservation holds that it is about as important to see that the people in general get the benefit of our natural resources as to see that there shall be natural resources left.

Conservation is the most democratic movement this country has known for a generation. It holds that the people have not only the right but the duty to control the use of the natural resources, which are the great sources of prosperity. And it regards the absorption of these resources by the special interests, unless their operations are under effective public control, as a moral wrong. Conservation is the application of common sense to the common problems for the common good, and I believe it stands nearer to the desires, aspirations, and purposes of the average man than any other policy now before the American people.

3. What is the danger to the Conservation policies in the coming session of Congress?

The danger to the Conservation policies in the coming session of Congress is that

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the privileges of the few may continue to obstruct the rights of the many, especially in the matter of water power and coal. Congress must decide at this session whether the great coal-fields still in public ownership shall remain so, in order that their use may be controlled with due regard to the interest of the consumer, or whether they shall pass into private ownership and be controlled in the monopolistic interest of a few.

Congress must decide also whether immensely valuable rights to the use of water power shall be given away to special interests in perpetuity and without compensation, instead of being held and controlled by the public. In most cases, actual development of water power can best be done by private interests acting under public control, but it is neither good sense nor good morals to let these valuable privileges pass from the public ownership for nothing and forever. Other Conservation matters will doubtless require action; but these two, the Conservation of water power and of coal, the chief sources of power of the present and the future, are clearly the most pressing.

4. Why is it important to protect the water powers?

It is of the first importance to prevent our water powers from passing into private ownership as they have been doing, because the greatest source of power we know is falling water. Furthermore, it is the only great unfailing source of power. Our coal, the experts say, is likely to be exhausted during the next century, our natural gas and oil in this. Our rivers, if the forests on the watersheds are properly handled, will never cease to deliver power. Under our form of civilization, if a few men ever succeed in controlling the sources of power, they will eventually control all industry as well. If they succeed in controlling all industry, they will necessarily control the country. This country has achieved political freedom; what our people are fighting for now is industrial freedom. And unless we win our industrial liberty we cannot keep our political liberty. I see no reason why we should deliberately keep on helping to fasten the handcuffs of corporate control upon ourselves for all time merely because the few men who would profit by it most have heretofore had the power to compel it.

5. How must it be done?

The essential things that must be done to protect the water powers for the people are few and simple. First, the granting of water powers forever, either on non-navigable or navigable streams, must absolutely stop. It is perfectly clear that one hundred, fifty, or even twenty-five years ago our present industrial conditions and industrial needs were completely beyond the imagination of the wisest of our predecessors. It is just as true that we cannot imagine or foresee the industrial conditions and needs of the future. But we do know that our descendants should be left free to meet their own necessities as they arise. It cannot be right, therefore, for us to grant perpetual rights to the one great permanent source of power. It is just as wrong as it is foolish, and just as needless as it is wrong, to mortgage the welfare of our children in such a way as this. Water powers must and should be developed mainly by private capital, and they must be developed under conditions which make investment in them profitable and safe. But neither profit nor safety requires perpetual rights, as many of the best water power men now freely acknowledge.

Second, the men to whom the people grant the right to use water power should pay for what they get. The water power sites now in the public hands are enormously valuable. There is no reason whatever why special interests should be allowed to use them for profit without making some direct payment to the people for the valuable rights derived from the people. This is important not only for the revenue the Nation will get. It is at least equally important as a recognition that the public control their own property and have a right to share in the benefits arising from its development.

There are other ways in which public control of water power must be exercised, but these two are the most important.

6. Does the same principle apply to navigable streams as to non-navigable?

Water power on non-navigable streams usually results from dropping a little water a long way. In the mountains water is dropped many hundreds of feet upon the turbines which move the dynamos that produce the electric current.

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Water power on navigable streams is usually produced by dropping immense volumes of water a short distance, as twenty feet, fifteen feet, or even less. Every stream is a unit from its source to its mouth, and the people have the same stake in the control of water power in one part of it as in another. Under the Constitution the United States exercises direct control over navigable streams. It exercises control over non-navigable and source streams only through its ownership of the lands through which they pass, as in the public domain and National forests. It is just as essential for the public welfare that the people should retain and exercise control of water power monopoly on navigable as on non-navigable streams. If the difficulties are greater, then the danger that the water powers may pass out of the people's hands on the lower navigable parts of the streams is greater than on the upper non-navigable parts, and it may be harder, but in no way less necessary, to prevent it.

These answers to your questions will, I hope, give you the information for which you wrote. It must be clear to any man who has followed the development of the Conservation idea that no other policy now before the American people is so thoroughly democratic in its essence and in its tendencies as the Conservation policy. It asserts that the people have the right and the duty, and that it is their duty no less than their right, to protect themselves against the uncontrolled monopoly of the natural resources which yield the necessaries of life. We are beginning to realize that the Conservation question is a question of right and wrong, as any question must be which may involve the difference between prosperity and poverty, health and sickness, ignorance and education, well-being and misery, to hundreds of thousands of families. Seen from the point of view of human welfare and human progress, questions which begin as purely economic often end as moral issues. Conservation is a moral issue because it involves the rights and the duties of our people—their rights to prosperity and happiness, and their duties to themselves, to their descendants, and to the whole future progress and welfare of this Nation.

SIX PRETTY CRADLES

BY JULIA WARD HOWE

I have tended six pretty cradles,
With the prettiest babes within;
All heart-flames of holy rapture
In a world of grief and sin.

Six cradles make six coffins;
I see them as I sit.
In giving life I have given death—
Thus sorrow and solace knit!

Six babes may make six angels,
Oh! grant it, God of grace,
That, lifted on their loving wings,
I too may see Thy face!

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AN ELECTIVE BOSS

BY CHARLES J. BONAPARTE

This article by the former Attorney-General of the United States contains the chief point made in the address which he delivered as President of the National Municipal League at its fifteenth annual meeting, at Cincinnati, in the middle of November. Mr. Bonaparte's experience with ring rule in Maryland enables him to speak, not as an impractical visionary, but as one who knows that reforms can be achieved only when reformers recognize actual conditions. Editorial comment upon Mr. Bonaparte's suggestion will be found elsewhere in this issue.—THE EDITORS.

WHEN any body governed by elective officers has to provide itself with a new ruler or new set of rulers, it is obliged to develop some organ or devise some mechanism which looks up a man, or several men, believed to be fit for the job and willing to undertake this. What shall take the place and fulfill the purpose of a Committee on Nominations when a vast municipal corporation, say, one of our great American cities, has to choose its rulers by popular vote?

The simplest and most convenient way to deal with this problem is to ignore its existence; so far as I can see, it is thus dealt with almost universally by our laws. We seem to assume that the voters can and will, or, at all events, that but for some artificial hindrances they could and would, always and readily name by acclamation the man of their choice, very much as the Frankish warriors raised their future king on their bucklers; and that for a man thus honored to decline with thanks would be as unlikely in the one case as it probably was in the other. If we leave the many thousands of voters in a great city without other guidance than their own haphazard notions, we practically abandon the public offices to some small and probably contemptible, but disciplined, minority.

It is hardly more practical to propose that the National political parties, or permanent municipal parties modeled on their local organizations, shall serve the voters as competing Committees on Nominations; although it is quite true that this was precisely the purpose which "parties," as first known in popular government, were formed to fulfill. We have, however, so modified by custom, and of late years by law, the organization of our parties that the name now denotes something totally different from its original significance. When a nomination is made at a "primary," which, for all practical purposes, is a preliminary election, the fifty thousand voters entitled to take part in it constitute a mass no less amorphous and helpless than the hundred thousand or hundred and fifty thousand who will vote some weeks or months later at the polls. The primary needs a pre-primary or some sort of process to do for it the work of a Committee on Nominations, quite as clearly as does the general election which follows it.

This work can, indeed, be done, either for the party primary or, to my mind, preferably for the entire electorate, by a self-constituted committee or association of citizens formed to recruit and recommend candidates; and, on occasions of exceptional importance, especially with respect to offices of great prominence, such an agency is often effective and very useful. Its value, however, steadily lessens when we try to make it permanent. The credit and influence of a "Committee of One Hundred" or a "Citizens' Association" decline rapidly after the exigency which led to its formation has passed; it soon begins to show the vices inherent in any political close corporation, and, moreover, even in its best days it usually finds great difficulty in providing satisfactory or even reputable candidates for minor offices. There always has been and always ought to be a right on the part of the humblest citizen to ask of his fellow-citizens the highest office in their gift; but we have made the incidents of such service so repulsive to those we wish and so attractive to those we do not wish to employ that when the office shall find the man ready to seek it, or even inclined to yield readily if himself

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sought, in ninety-nine cases out of a hundred the office will do wisely if it display considerable agility in getting out of his way.

Since the work of a Committee on Nominations will be simply left undone if intrusted to the people at large, or to a modern political party, or to would-be candidates for office themselves, and since this work will be done uncertainly and often unsatisfactorily, and yet more often not done at all, when mere volunteers are expected to do it, we are led to consider the true substitutes for Committees on Nominations in our present municipal governments; and these are no other than the "Bosses" in the local organizations of the two great National parties. It is the business of a Boss to provide a candidate for every elective office; of course, if he be a wise Boss, he will weigh and welcome suggestions, from whatever source they may come, which can aid him to do this work satisfactorily—at least to himself. Moreover, since a Boss, like Saturn, is usually encircled by a "ring," or more frequently by two or more concentric rings, he is habitually assisted in his labor by the counsels of his lieutenants and apprentice Bosses, retaining, however, for himself the last word as to these matters and as to all others. Where legalized primaries exist, he must, in substance, submit his report, as a Nominating Committee of one, to such voters of his party as may choose to attend these primaries; and it is possible that his report may be, wholly or in part, rejected and his ticket turned down, just as it is possible that the report of our Committee on Nominations may be rejected and its ticket turned down at this meeting; the probability that this will happen is about the same in each case. In any event, the legal voters will pass upon his recommendations at the polls, and experience shows that the character of these recommendations, or, in other words, the merits of his candidates, depend very largely on what he may reasonably expect from the voters. In a "one-party" city the dominant Boss (who in such a city is sole Boss so far at least as the municipal government is concerned) selects candidates to suit himself, there being, in truth, no good business reason, from his standpoint, why he should select them to suit anybody else. In a "two-party" city, however, especially when the two parties are fairly well balanced and a considerable body of Independents can turn the scales to one side or the other at their will, the two parties and their respective Bosses are usually obliged to compete, at least in some measure, for the favor of the voters, and particularly of these Independents. But whether he exercise his power well or ill, there is, to my mind, no room for doubt that, under existing conditions, in a typical American city government the Boss, and only the Boss, holds the power of authoritative initiative.

It can hardly be said with justice that the Boss has usurped the power of initiative with respect to elective municipal offices; he has rather inherited it or acquired it through a gradual and unpremeditated accretion of his authority, resulting from the profound change in our ideas as to the nature of a political party. The original conception of a party was a group of citizens gathered about a prominent man with whose views as to public affairs they were in sympathy and whose suggestions they wished to see adopted in the conduct of the government. Far from the party's electing its leader, the leader created his party; no primary put Hamilton at the head of the Federalists or Jefferson at the head of the Republicans of their day, any more than a primary put Gladstone at the head of the Liberals or Disraeli at the head of the Conservatives of theirs. The party was regarded as essentially a school of political thought, and the teacher, or the few teachers, who guided it were held to speak with authority because of exceptional personal qualities, not because of any delegation from the pupils, who listened and followed. Moreover, the notions that a party constitutes a quasi-corporation, and that every member of the community, or, at all events, every legal voter, normally belongs, or ought to belong, to some one such corporation, are comparatively recent in modern times; prior to the French Revolution we find mere traces of these conceptions as applicable to modern states.

The radical change from the old view of a party to that now practically universal in America, and apparently becoming so

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everywhere, has been regretted by very high authorities, especially because of the greatly increased bitterness and pertinacity of partisan prejudice thereby caused. In the words of Hood:

"Of all the spirits of evil fame
That hurt the soul or injure the frame,
And poison what's honest and hearty,
There's none more needs a Matthew to preach
A cooling, antiphlogistic speech,
To praise and enforce
A temperate course,
Than the Evil Spirit of Party."

I have heard an intelligent and well-informed speaker deplore and condemn the general legalization of primaries; he said primaries ought to be, not regulated, but abolished and forbidden by law, and "party leaders," as he called them, ought to be obliged to present their candidates to the voters on their own avowed and individual responsibility. It seems to me more to the purpose to inquire whether we cannot secure somebody else, somebody more nearly in sympathy with the principles and purposes of this League, to exercise the powers of initiative which have fallen to the eminent bosses in question.

To attain this end we must first realize that the duties thus discharged by the Boss are laborious and unpleasant duties, unpleasant even to the Boss, and that they would be found much more unpleasant by such a substitute as I have suggested. Men of the right sort for the office to be filled must be not only discovered, but urged, entreated, persuaded, even hectored, wheedled, or in some sort bullied, into making the sacrifices involved for a capable and well-trained American of high character in serving the public. Certainly the job is not altogether alluring, and, since it must be wholly gratuitous, the problem of finding the man for it is not easily solved.

Next it must be remembered that the Boss can do his work because, and only because, his control of the party organization and his practical monopoly of patronage open to its members make his veto virtually fatal to any candidacy; the would-be official whom the Boss "turns down" doesn't "kick" because, and only because, he knows from long observation, and perhaps from personal experience, that to "kick" will hurt only the "kicker." If we take away this sanction from the decree of our proposed substitute for the Boss, we must find some other no less potent.

It has been my purpose rather to arouse thought and invite discussion as to the problem I have presented than definitely to suggest a solution. I cannot say truthfully that I am altogether certain that I have found a solution satisfactory to my own mind; I think it but right, however, to submit some rather nebulous thoughts looking towards a possible solution. I would have every voter appearing on the registration lists to be affiliated with a political party given a blank slip when he receives his official ballot at a legal election, and required to write in his own hand on this slip, while he prepares his ballot in the booth, the name of a leader for his party in the city during the next year; these slips would be put in a separate ballot-box provided for each party and publicly counted by the regular officers of election. The person receiving a plurality of the votes so cast would become the Party Leader for the ensuing year; the three, or perhaps the five persons receiving the next largest votes after his should make up an Advisory Committee for the same period. The sole duty of the Party Leader would be to place names on a "regular" ticket at the party's primaries. The Advisory Committee should be consulted as to these names, and any member of it who disapproved of any name could have his dissent published. Every facility would be given for Independent candidacies both at the primaries and at the final election; the nominees of the Party Leader would have no other advantage in the former than to be designated as "regular," or by some equivalent title.

I do not believe the Party Leader, chosen as above suggested, would usually be the present local Boss; if he were, this would only show that the Boss fairly represented the party. In any event, under this system, the party's nominations would be suggested by a representative consciously and intelligently chosen to do this particular work, and the city's voters would know the true value of a nomination as an assurance of fitness. The duty

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of making suggestions must fall in last resort to an individual; if we make it the business of anybody, we make it the business of nobody; if we make it the business of everybody, whether in the party or in the electorate at large, we leave it to fall to anybody who grasps it, and experience shows that this anybody will not be usually a somebody we want. I propose to recognize the importance of this business, and to put it in the hands of a designated somebody; somebody else, somebody otherwise chosen, may be possibly, indeed probably, better fitted to attend to the work than the somebody I have just suggested; but assuredly, whether we neglect it or not, the work must of necessity and will certainly have attention, and no less assuredly it is now generally, or far too often, in bad hands.

OUR MODERN FRONTIERSMEN

BY ALBERT EDWARDS

IT had been a typical pioneer breakfast—bacon and "spuds," sour-dough bread, coffee and embalmed milk.

"Come outside and take a look at the work."

My Costa Rican host pushed back the rough table from which we had been eating, and led the way out on to the porch. "The Shack," a rough affair of unplaned planks and corrugated iron, stood on a ledge a hundred feet above the bottom of the gorge.

"See. That is the center-line of the tunnel."

Looking where he pointed, I saw a white post set in the hillside. It showed vividly distinct against the heavy green of tropical vegetation. Rushing towards us, in a riot of white foam, was a river. Below the shack it struck the solid granite; rebounding in a whirlpool of spray, it tore down a narrow cañon towards the Pacific. Some rocks in the river bed showed gray and red and brown; except for the blue overhead, they gave the only relief from the monotonous green of the hot-house foliage. There were great trees, lignum vitæ and bitter cedar, wherever a tree could find root; between them a dense, tangled jungle of giant ferns. A family of monkeys in the trees on the other bank put a final touch to the primevalness of the scene. From time to time snatches of their shrill gibberish came across to us above the constant roar of the waters. I have always felt that monkeys—in their wild state—marked the utter opposite to civilization.

"The tunnel will be a quarter of a mile long. The intake is on the other side of that hill. The pipes begin where you see the post, and go down through the gorge half a mile to the turbines."

The speaker was a tall, angular man, but lithe; a heavy, broad framework of bone, great knots of muscle, and over all a tightly drawn covering of skin. There was a notable lack of superfluous flesh. His hands were the only thing about him which were well kept. Their sympathetic intimacy with delicate instruments was apparent, and yet they could be—in need—terrible weapons. "I never carry a machete," he told me. "Fists are better in dealing with the peons." The rest of him—at least the parts which were visible—was neglected. His hair and beard had not been groomed for months. His flannel shirt was torn, his khaki trousers were frayed and grimy, his high hunting-boots so cased in mud that it was a wonder to me how he found the laces.

"I can explain it better with a chart," he said. And, going into the drafting-room, he returned with his assistant—a young man just out of Cornell. In appearance he was almost the duplicate of the older man. Only there was more flesh on him, his complexion was not yet yellowed by fever, he had not been long enough in the jungle to so completely slough off the marks of civilization. He smoked an

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amber-stemmed pipe instead of a native cigar, and he still wore his fraternity pin.

They unrolled the blueprint on the porch of the shack, and, as nearly as it is possible with a layman, explained their work to me. They were installing a 15,000 horse-power electric plant. The current would be carried fifteen miles to the stamping mills of a great gold mine. They were laying their plans so that at any time in the future they could double their horse-power.

It would be a magnificent piece of work anywhere. But to do it in the heart of the Central American jungle seemed to me a stupendous feat. It had been necessary for them to build their own roads—cutting their way with machetes, inch by inch, through the desperate tangle of the underbrush—before they could begin.

The older man had been doing similar work for twenty years, all the way from the Straits of Magellan to the Texas border. He had built bridges, laid out water supplies, erected factories, installed power plants, and had "railroaded some." But he did not like railroading so well, he told me, as the smaller, isolated, jungle jobs, which were all his own. He was a lineal descendant of our old individualistic frontiersman, who had to be cutting down trees. To-day there are few places left in the States where a man can make a "clearing." So the men with this blood in their veins have had to expatriate themselves, as their fathers did—cross the frontier.

Mexico is full of such men, so is every Central American Republic, and, to a growing extent, so are the republics farther south.

"Horace Greeley's motto, 'Go West, young man, and grow up with the country!' is a dead letter nowadays. We haven't any West any more. Our frontier lies to the South." It was a mining engineer, the head of immense American interests in Mexico, who said this to me.

And it is undoubtedly true that the same spirit which took our forebears across the Appalachians, across the Mississippi, over the desert and the Rockies, is now carrying hundreds of men of our generation farther and farther south of the Rio Grande.

What manner of men were our pioneers, what was their function in our National development? Our writers have thrown a glamour of romance over their lives. They were a hardy race, a people of great self-reliance, fearless men, with unremitting energy and ceaseless patience—"doers"—advance agents of a higher civilization. The Wild Southerners of to-day are every whit as romantic a lot as the Wild Westerners of yesterday.

But we must not let the glamour of their heroism blind us. The men of former generations were a lawless crew, hard and brutal, overbearing, and utterly without justice to the natives who came in their way. The type has not changed. And, above all, we must bear in mind that our frontiersmen were not only the advance agents of a higher civilization, but also of territorial expansion. They won the West from the Indians, Texas and California from the Spaniards.

Do we want them to win the South for us?

That is what they are trying to do. I did not meet a Yankee north of the equator—and I believe it is the same south of it—who does not expect that we will absorb all of Latin America sooner or later. Every one, diplomats and ditch-diggers, believes that things are tending that way. And the Americans in business down there are doing their best to hasten it. Further, I found that every Spanish-American is convinced that such is our National ambition. They believe that it is our deliberate intention to own the hemisphere. Only a few think they will have the power to resist us.

It behooves the good people of the United States to think seriously about this problem, and to decide on a definite policy towards our Southern neighbors. Either we must conciliate them—which involves the necessity of putting certain restraints on our frontiersmen—or we must prepare for military operations of much greater extent than any we have yet undertaken. We have fallen into the habit of despising these Spanish-American Republics and their barefoot armies. It is funny, but it is not wise. The reverses we received in the Mexican War should not be so quickly forgotten. These people know how to fight. They do it on trivial pretexts, but

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they do it seriously. More lives were lost in the recent Panama revolution than in our war with Spain. Central America would prove as hard a nut for us to crack as England found in South Africa. It would be almost impossible for us to maintain an army in that climate.

It is too vital a question to leave to the chance whim and occasional deep ignorance of whoever happens to be Secretary of State. We must develop a National opinion and a National policy.

For the formation of such a policy it is necessary to know the facts of the case. What are our frontiersmen doing down that way? Undoubtedly—like our pioneers of earlier generations—they are carrying the torch of a higher civilization. They are making two blades of grass grow where but one grew before; they are substituting locomotives for ox-carts. Everywhere they are installing machinery to do work formerly done by human hands, or not done at all. But just as, in the history of our West, the torch in the hands of the frontiersmen frequently set fire to the tepees of the Indians, so much similar arson is being committed in Latin America.

After I had finished studying the blueprint, I went with my host over the site of his work. It was wonderful, the imagination of this man who could see the power of thirty thousand strong horses in this isolated jungle gorge; it was more wonderful, the skill by which he made his vision a reality, harnessed this immense team to useful work. Kipling has set the fashion of singing the praises of these poets in steel, these men who write epics with transit and dynamite, with logarithms and steam-shovels. I had never before caught the spell of it so intensely.

But in our tour of inspection we passed through the camp where the peons live. There is no labor legislation in Central America. I have no new terms to express the horror of that camp. The vocabulary of such words was exhausted by those who described English factory life during the Industrial Revolution. The conditions are strikingly similar. A peasant class who had hardly ever had ready money, whose manner of life required none, suddenly lured by a dream of wealth into utterly strange conditions, crowded, packed together about the work—in a new atmosphere where money, coin, is everything. It is a world-wide story of moral and physical disintegration. Wherever industrial life springs up suddenly, the same thing happens. I had read about its happening in England; had seen it face to face in the factory suburbs of St. Petersburg and Moscow. The same thing is happening here in Central America. The life of a peasant in a sparsely settled country is barren enough, God knows; narrow, brutish, stultifying; but it is clean and wholesome, in spite of dirt, and generates certain crude virtues and ideals of rectitude. Industrial life in the long run is an advance, but at first it is an inferno. All the old virtues are lost, and the new ones are long in growing. The sudden crowding together seems the basic trouble. In this camp there were rough barracks for the "unattached men," rougher shanties for those who had brought their womenfolk. The traditional morality of the open country is pitifully insufficient for a man or woman suddenly pushed into the crowd of a new industrial center. There were plenty of vices on which to spend the suddenly acquired money. And also there was a rapidly growing graveyard; for there was no doctor near, no one who knew anything of sanitation. Many of the men are maimed and killed in the work; there is no such thing as "Employers' Liability Acts" in Central America.

The largest building in the camp was "The Commissary." As there are no towns near by, a "company store" is a necessity. The laborers could not live otherwise. Everything has to be imported. I asked my host if the commissary was run on a profit.

"Well," he laughed, "we can't make much out of it. On some of the jobs around here they run the commissary so as to get back all they pay out in wages. But we don't do that. You see, we want to build up a permanent labor force for the mine. We have to treat them better than they are used to. I run the commissary just on a fair profit—about ten per cent. We give them better goods and cheaper than in the other camps. We've got to keep them contented. Our barracks are better—everything is better."

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I heard the same story everywhere, that this particular camp was the best in the country. I am glad I did not have to visit the others. Sooner or later the laboring class in these Central American countries will recover from the first shock of dislocation and organize—just as they did in England and Russia. They will discover rights to fight for; there will be "disorders"—they are not a people of long patience. American property will be destroyed. And from this will arise endless snarls for our State Department to untangle.

Our biggest frontier enterprise in Central America is a great corporation that produces and deals in fruit. This corporation, and especially the man who organized it, are typical of the new times. Fifty years ago the United States was represented in these countries by the filibuster Walker. After a bloody war his invasion was repulsed. Armed aggression gave place to an industrial invasion. The fruit corporation is the leader of this new invasion. The organizer of the enterprise began operations in Central America twenty-odd years ago, married a Costa Rican wife, and very closely identified himself with Latin America. He prospered—until now he is reputed to be very many times a millionaire. He built the railway from Port Limon to San José; he has interests in other railways, in mines and coffee and cacao, in every one of the five Republics. But, above all, he is a banana man. When this fruit first attracted his attention, it was hardly known in the United States outside of seaport towns. A few sailing vessels now and then landed a cargo from Jamaica or Cuba. He taught us to eat them, until now several million bunches are consumed every week, and there is hardly a cross-roads store in the country where they cannot be bought. Eventually he consolidated his fruit enterprise with several others in one corporation, of which he is vice-president. It is a larger concern than most of us realize. It operates a fleet of over a hundred modern steamships. It is a common saying that it owns Costa Rica. Certainly no trust nor combination of trusts ever had so tight a grip on the United States as this great fruit "trust" has on this little country.

There is only one railway from the interior to the sea. It is leased by the fruit company on a franchise which still has more than eighty years of life. Port Limon, the only harbor on the Atlantic, is the corporation's private property—it owns all the docks. Its monopoly of transportation is complete. Coffee is the chief native industry. The trust levies a heavy tax on the planters through exceedingly high freight tariffs. Very few Costa Ricans are in the banana-growing business. If one of them wishes to plant them, he must go to the company's office and beseech it to buy—at its own price. As there is no other local buyer, no possibility of putting the fruit on the open market, the Trust controls the situation absolutely. About sixty per cent of the active capital in the country is owned by this great company. From year to year the percentage increases. For, as there are no effective laws to regulate freight rates, this corporation holds the whip hand over every industry. You cannot do business—any kind of business—on a large scale without first coming to terms with it. Incidentally the organizer of the company personally owns two-thirds of the national debt.

The Government is trying to escape from this burdensome situation by building a railway from San José to Puntarenas on the Pacific. It is an exceedingly difficult piece of engineering, and, although great progress has been made, it still lacks fifteen miles of completion. In this tropical country of heavy rainy seasons and continuous landslides the cost of maintenance is very high. It is extremely doubtful if the Government can keep the advantage this road will give it even when it is completed. An official of the fruit corporation told me, "We're not worrying about that Pacific Railroad. We will control it within two years after it is opened." They probably will.

The Government is too weak financially to maintain so expensive an undertaking. There are only 300,000 people in Costa Rica. Between two-thirds and three-quarters of the wealth produced in the country goes abroad—most of it to holders of the fruit corporation's stock, the rest to English, German, and American investors in other enterprises. With

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the cream of her wealth being siphoned off in this manner, it is small wonder that the Government finds itself desperately hard pressed to maintain its model school system and to meet its other running expenses.

Costa Rica has for many years been governed by liberal-minded, broadly educated, patriotic men. They employ more school-teachers than soldiers. There are very few countries in the world which make a like boast. Not only in education has Costa Rica given a proof of progressive democracy, but in matters of public health and municipal enterprises it is in advance of many of our cities. "We cannot hope for further progress," one of these men told me, "unless we can manage to keep some of our wealth at home." They look with unveiled jealousy at the tribute we are wringing out of them. One of our diplomats, who has been more than twenty years in Latin America, told me that the last ten years had seen a rapid and threatening growth of anti-Yankee feeling all through these countries.

And we have not only sent these rugged—rather ruthless—frontiersmen down there to represent us, but also carpetbaggers. There are not a few of our fellow-citizens in Central America who are "wanted by the police" at home. "What was your name in the States?" is an insult commonly thrown at Americans.

A Yankee banker in one of the smaller republics contracted with the Government to furnish its army with rifles. After the money had been paid him the cases were opened, and it was discovered that he had short-counted them about forty per cent. The natives were naturally indignant at the fraud, and went to look for the scoundrel with a rope. He took refuge in the American Legation, was protected from the mob and at last allowed to escape to a ship in the harbor. Of course it is necessary for us—the torch-bearers of a higher civilization and all that—to keep these less enlightened people from smirching their national honor with the shame of lynching. But certainly it was a grave mistake to allow the criminal to get away. Protecting him from mob violence was no excuse for helping him escape civil justice. It will take us a long time to convince his victims that we as a Nation do not approve of such frauds.

We are further made unpopular by some of our citizens who are honest enough, but simple provincial boors. I ran across one man who had been sent down by our Department of Agriculture at the request of a municipality to help them install a model slaughter-house. I never met a man more insulting to those with whom he lived. He was naturally foul-mouthed, and bedeviled everything and everybody he met. His contempt for the men under him was offensive even to an onlooker. His one quarrel with the people was that "they don't know how to cut up a steer." It had never occurred to me before that any Divine Fiat had fixed how this should be done, but he seemed to think so. The natives by long custom were habituated to one way of dressing their meat. They stubbornly refused to be reformed. His Chicago cuts were unfamiliar to the housewives, and they refused to buy them. Of course the retail butchers insisted on a return to the old method. And for this our representative pronounced anathema against the nation. There could be no possible good in a people "who don't know how to cut up a steer." If, in spite of our system of education, we produce citizens like this, we ought at least to keep them at home—not send them as envoys to our neighbors.

Another type comes to my mind. He was the manager of the electric car system in one of the larger cities. He was a good-hearted, efficient man, but very limited in his outlook and extremely contemptuous of the natives.

"You have to look out for these people," he said. "They're mean when they're mad." And he told me how once, in the first year of his management, the procession on Corpus Christi day formed in front of the Cathedral and blocked the tracks. "We had the right of way," he said. "And I wasn't going to let no religious tomfoolery put my schedule on the bum." He had ordered a conductor to force a car through the crowd. As the man was a devout Catholic, he refused—and was discharged on the spot. Three men lost their jobs for refusing to commit what they thought was sacrilege. At last he found a man willing

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to do it. One of the crowd of worshipers was hit by the car. A riot started. The driver of the car was killed. Tracks were torn up, several cars burned. And the manager had to hide in the Legation. It was several weeks before they could get the system working again. And he told the story to show me what fools the natives are!

These are types of our frontiersmen in Latin America. Some are jail-birds—as were many of those who won our West. Some are uncultured American workmen, who treat the natives with the same contempt and brutality which their forebears showed to the Indians. Some are engineers, typical Yankee construction bosses, the most capable "doers" in the world, no rougher, no more brutal than their like at home, but absolutely unrestrained by any organizations or laws to protect their workmen. Some are, like the gentlemen of the banana company, captains of industry; neither are they restrained by any government investigations or "muck-raking" publicity. There have not been nearly as many newspaper attacks on the Fruit Trust as, for instance, against Standard Oil. But there are not so many newspapers.

These men are doing great things in Latin America—things which will doubtless benefit generations yet unborn. But they are benefiting the present generation as little as the invention of steam spinning benefited the victims of the industrial revolution in England. And they are milking the country of its wealth at a more delirious rate than that in which England milks India. And, most important of all, they are doing all in their power to force the United States to absorb these countries politically. It is no wonder that hatred of the Yankees grows apace.

Part of this hatred is due to jealousy of our superior effectiveness, our "do-it-iveness," as one Spanish-American expressed it. In business and industry we are head and shoulders above them, and they, with some bitterness, admit it. But the basic causes of this hatred are two: First, the fact that native wealth is being sucked out of the country to fill the pockets of coupon-clippers in New York and Boston. There is not half the bitterness against the vice-president of the fruit company, who married and lives in Central America, that there is against the impersonal, unknown shareholders—the absentee capitalists. Second, and most important, is the deep-seated conviction that these frontiersmen are preparing the way for political conquest.

This was a point of view hard for me to accept. I do not believe that there is anything further from the minds of the mass of our people than the ambition for territorial expansion over Latin America. But the inhabitants of these countries are convinced that such an ambition is an integral part of our National policy. With natural although rather naïve egotism, they think their rôle in the world's drama more important than we do. That our attention should be turned towards Japan rather than their way, that Chinese or European markets interest us more than theirs, has never occurred to them. When I told them—as I often did—that I had never heard two Americans even discussing the advisability of conquering them, they refused to believe me. They have a conviction that we think of little else. They showed me the statue in San José raised in honor of their victory over the filibuster Walker. This war waged against the American invader is the proudest of their national traditions. They pointed out to me how much Spanish-American territory we had already absorbed—Texas, California, the Philippines, Porto Rico. And Cuba—there is no one of them who believes we were disinterested in the Spanish War. They consider our protestation diplomatic hypocrisy, and believe we are cynically preparing to annex the island. The revolution of Panama has only strengthened their belief that we are ever ready to mix in their private quarrels—wherever we can gain profit thereby.

Further, every foreign observer who has visited them has prophesied our speedy annexation of all Latin America. While I was in Costa Rica every one was reading "Le paradis du Amerique Central"—a volume of letters written by one of the correspondents of Le Gaulois. The author had no doubt as to the sinister ambition of the "Northern Eagle."

In almost every town I visited I saw a recent Spanish book, "The Vulture,"

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for so they call our National bird. It was virulently anti-Yankee. The writer prophesied that on the death of Diaz the United States would find a pretext to occupy Mexico; the conquest of Central America would follow rapidly; then, in the face of danger, the South American republics would unite in a strong alliance, which would result in our humiliating defeat and the triumph of the Spanish-American idea. Such hostility—and there can be no doubt of its intensity—must be overcome if we really wish to be the pacificator and friend of these republics.

And this distrust of us, this mingled hate and fear—it is taught in the public school as a part of patriotism—is the foundation of every Latin-American despotism. A liberal democratic government is bound to model after us. To raise money for schools and internal improvements, it is necessary to hasten the development of industry, allow our capital ingress—bow down before us. And then reaction comes. A man appears who will have none of us. Castro rises to power to the cry, "Venezuela for the Venezuelans!" Zelaya by shouting, "Nicaragua for the Nicaraguans! To hell with the Gringos!"

Costa Rica is an orderly country. It has not had a revolution for forty years. The people believe in democracy, and detest the idea of a dictatorship. It would be difficult to overstate the real and admirable progress in popular government which these people have made in the last generation. Costa Rica is far in advance of her sister republics. But what she has done the others will do. However, in spite of this liberalism, they—every one of them—follow the fortunes of the Yankee-baiting dictators with keen interest and no little approval. They mourned the fall of Castro, not because they liked him, but because he dared to resist Washington. And every insult which Zelaya throws at us is recounted in their cafés with great enjoyment. And now, after forty years of orderly progress, they too are faced with the danger of revolution. There was a Presidential election in August. The candidates were Iglesias, the Friend of Foreigners, and Jimenez, the Nationalist. Months before the election blood was shed. Jimenez is said to be a political ally of Zelaya. An alliance of foreign capitalists and the priests backed Iglesias. But the popular will—the deep-seated hatred of the Gringos—won. Jimenez was elected. It has undoubtedly strengthened Zelaya's hand, and it is another blow to our prestige. Jimenez is a sincere patriot. He believes that the one hope of his country lies in freeing it from the strangle-hold of the fruit company—he will fight American capital. He will come in conflict with our frontiersmen.

Our relation to Latin America is at best embarrassing. The Monroe Doctrine puts us in the position of the elder brother, who, while not being able to control the vagaries of his younger brother, must protect him. The Castro affair was ticklish enough. Zelaya may get us into a worse situation any minute, and we will—there is no use shutting our eyes to it—find it a harder job subjugating one of these intensely patriotic countries than we did helping the Cubans drive out the Spaniards.

After all, do we want to subjugate them? It is well to realize that everything is tending to create such a necessity. If we want to live in peace with our neighbors, we must devise some more effective way to convince them of our good will than any our State Department has yet discovered.

One incident of my visit to Costa Rica fixed itself in my mind as illustrative of the deep-seated suspicion with which these people view us. There was one man with whom I felt I had made friends. He was a graduate of Columbia, a man of wide travel and broad culture. He clearly recognized the inability of his people to compete with us in industrial enterprises. He was one of many patriotic Costa Ricans who believe, in the bitterness of their hearts, that American conquest is inevitable. With something of the spirit of the Cavaliers and the French nobles of La Vendée, he intended to die fighting. But he did not hope for victory. In his company I climbed to the top of the volcano Irazu. Never has the view from a summit so well repaid me for the effort of mountain-climbing. Both oceans can be seen, and to the north Lake Nicaragua. Below us, in beautiful disorder, were

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spread out the hills and valleys and rivers, the towns and coffee *finkas* of his country. No one could help loving such a fatherland.

As we were clambering about the rim of the crater he discovered a luxuriant bed of violets. He picked a great handful of them, asking with patriotic enthusiasm if they were not more fragrant than those of Italy. As I was admiring them—they were the most rarely scented violets I had ever found—my foot dislodged a piece of bright yellow stone. It looked to me like sulphur.

"Isn't this sulphur?" I asked. "Have you ever tried mining it? I should think there would be money in it."

Till that moment we had been friends. But my thoughtless words brought a sullen scowl to his face.

"Et tu, Brute?" he said, bitterly. "You're just like all the Yankees. You can see nothing in my country"—he waved his hand over the glorious view—"except a chance to make money! You've already taken our east coast for bananas, and" (pointing with outstretched arm as he spoke) "there—and there—and there you have gold mines! The railroad there and all the towns dependent on it are yours. Can't you leave us even the mountain tops—the barren mountain tops? Is there nothing else in the world for you but money?"

IMPRESSIONS OF A CARELESS TRAVELER

GERMAN HOTELS

THE German hotels are the best in the world—that is, the most to my taste. The statement is subject to some qualifications. I have not tried the hotels in Asia, Africa, Australia, or South America. But I have tried them in all European countries except Spain and the Balkan States. They are smaller and quieter than the American hotels, give greater variety of food than the English hotels, more hygienic food than the French hotels, and are more sanitary than the Italian hotels. This statement, like all general statements, is subject to qualification. There are quiet hotels in America, hotels with variety in England, with simple diet in France, and with adequate sanitary provisions in Italy. In fact, travel is now so universal that the great hotels in the great cities which depend on foreign travel for their patronage are very cosmopolitan in their character. There is a certain resemblance in the greater hotels of New York, London, Paris, Berlin, Vienna, and Rome. To get the distinguishing characteristics of the hotels of any country one must go to the distinctively native hotels—that is, to those dependent on native, not on foreign, patronage; and those are chiefly to be found in the smaller cities.

This tendency of the hotels in the larger cities to borrow each other's methods is seen in one new feature in the hotels of Hamburg and Bremen. Ten years ago rooms with private bath attached were rare on the Continent of Europe, and I think almost unknown in England. Going to one of the best hotels in Hamburg on landing in that city, and to one of the best hotels in Bremen before embarking from that city, I found that to a large number of the rooms a private bath was attached. It is my habit on landing to pick out the best hotel in the city and to pursue the same course before embarkation. There are two reasons for this policy: If one goes to what he thinks is a second-class hotel in a great commercial port like Hamburg or Bremen, he is very apt to find himself in a third-class hotel, unless he has either extraordinarily good

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luck or extraordinary advantages for ascertaining about conditions. And on landing from a steamer which has been more or less waltzing for ten days, rest under the best possible conditions is desirable for the forty-eight hours required to adjust one's self to the sober and steady earth; and, again, a similar rest under the most favorable conditions is a desirable preparation for embarking. The condition in which a landsman finds himself for the first two days on shipboard depends, in no small degree, on the condition in which he goes on board his steamer. We embarked at Bremen from one of the largest and best hotels in the city. The *portier* got our railway tickets and seat tickets to Bremerhaven for us, checked the trunks and brought us the steamship company's checks, sent our hand luggage to the station in advance of us and had it put in place in the racks of our compartment, so that we had only to drive to the station and get into our seats. The consequence was that we went on board the Prinz Friedrich Wilhelm absolutely care-free. The best preventive of seasickness is a rested body and a quiet mind. The traveler who takes the last train by which he can reach his steamer and goes on board wearied and worried is taking the best possible course to insure for himself a very uncomfortable passage. The price for a short stay in a first-class hotel in a German port is not prohibitory; our hotel bills in both places, including good-sized rooms with private baths, and all extras, tips, etc., were about five dollars a day.

What follows is written for the untraveled reader, and will not interest the traveled reader except as he may be interested to compare his own impressions with mine.

There are certain important respects in which the German hotel differs from the American hotel. Nowhere is there a price charged by the day. The traveler pays a fixed price for his room, depending on its size and location; sometimes the breakfast is included. The price for a good room in the smaller hotels ranges from three to five marks—that is, from seventy-five cents to a dollar and a quarter. The charge includes attendance and lights; the traveler brings his own soap with him. The price for breakfast ranges from a mark to a mark and a half—that is, from twenty-five to thirty-seven cents. It consists of rolls and coffee, and the coffee is uniformly good. I do not recall a poor cup of coffee in all my German experience; it was either good, better, or best. In England it is almost uniformly bad, worse, or worst. Personally, I like the German coffee better than the French; I suspect there is some chicory in the French. One may by special order add to his breakfast of rolls and coffee eggs in almost any form, and, I suppose, also steak or chops. Save possibly in the distinctively American hotels in the great cities, an order of a breakfast food or of buckwheat cakes would not be comprehended by the waiter. There is a *table d'hôte* dinner, usually at one or half-past one, which consists of four or five courses and costs from two and a half to five marks—sixty-two and a half cents to a dollar and a quarter. For supper you order what you will—the usual order being cold meat or eggs or both. You take your dinner and supper where you like, and do not pay for it at the hotel unless you take it there. The head waiter generally asks you at breakfast if you expect to be at dinner. This is partly to reserve seats for your party; partly, I suspect, that, like a prudent housekeeper, he may know how many guests to provide for. Save in the large hotels, the number of those who sit down to the *table d'hôte* dinner rarely exceeds from thirty to fifty. In the modern or modernized hotels the long table has given way to small tables. If you have a party of two or more, you are sure to have a table to yourself if you desire it.

If there are any temperance hotels in Germany, I neither saw nor heard of them. In all the hotels wine and beer are sold with the meals, and are freely used. In two of the hotels at which we stopped the price of dinner was half a mark more if no wine was ordered; there was thus a small premium on ordering wine. On the other hand, there are no bars in the hotels in Germany; at least none in evidence to one who is not in search of a bar. We went into one hotel-restaurant one evening for an ice, and not only found a goodly number of men and women sitting at the little tables who preferred something to drink rather than something to eat, but, in going to our table, passed an open door

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through which we saw what looked very like an American bar. And in Berlin I looked in through the open door of one saloon, on one of the principal streets, and saw men and women, some at tables, some at a bar, drinking with the same freedom with which similar groups might be seen on a warm day at a soda-water fountain in an American city. But in the hotels proper there were apparently no bars. Personally, I think a hotel in which there is no bar, but in which wine and beer can be ordered with the meals, is more worthy to be called a temperance hotel than a hotel, such as I have seen in Maine, in which no wine or beer can be ordered with the meals, but in which there is a bar in the basement where one can get stand-up drinks at pleasure.

But if there are no bars in the hotels in Germany, there is no dearth of places in which to satisfy thirst. Restaurants, cafés, gardens, and drinking-shops abound. There is every variety, for every kind of taste. I do not know what the statistics show, but the impression on the Careless Traveler is that in the larger cities there is as great a proportion of drinking-places as in American cities of equal size—but different in character. You may go into what in America would be an ice-cream saloon and order either an ice, a bottle of beer, or a bottle of wine. You may go into a garden and find the seats—not benches, but chairs—ranged round little tables, and a waiter ready to receive your order for a glass of milk (which, by the way, is quite common) or a glass of beer. You may find on a balcony or piazza of a hotel-restaurant multitudes of little tables and multitudes of busy waiters serving eating and drinking guests. Or, I suppose—I did not try the experiment—you may go into what externally looks like an American saloon and take your drink standing. The Germans are always eating, yet do not gluttonize, and always drinking, yet are never drunk. In America we eat and drink as we put coal on the furnace, to keep the machinery going; in Germany eating and drinking is an end in itself. The people eat and drink as one may read a book—not to get something out of it for future use, but for the mere enjoyment of reading. There is at least one thing to be said in favor of this: it is wholly inconsistent with the spirit of grab and gobble which one often sees at our American lunch counters in a business street in business hours.

The public rooms characteristic of our great American hotels are in Germany conspicuous by their absence. If there is a lobby, it is not used as a lounging-place. There is often a reading-room, and sometimes a ladies' parlor, but they are both quiet and retired. I do not think if all the lobbies of all the hotels in Germany were united in one great lobby, and all the guests in all the German lobbies were turned into it, they would present any scene of dress and display, lazy luxury and strenuous discussion, comparable to what may be seen in any one of half a dozen hotels in New York City or Chicago. In the smaller hotels there is a small lobby, which contains a chair or two, a desk, and sometimes an office opening out of it. In this lobby, or in the adjoining office, is always to be found the *portier*. When your cab drives up to the hotel, the *portier* comes out in person to greet you. You are welcomed as a guest. If you are wise, you leave your baggage in the cab and ask to see what rooms they have. You see them, inquire the price, decline, and drive on to try elsewhere, or accept, and in ten minutes are settled and at home. In the smaller hotels the proprietor is apt to take his dinner with his guests, or, if not, to come into the dining-room at the dinner hour and greet them with a bow. In one hotel the proprietor sent personally a flower to every lady at the Sunday dinner, and, if for any reason she could not be down at dinner, the flower was sent to her room. When you go away, the *portier*, the head waiter, and perhaps the proprietor, are present to bid their guests good-by. They are not always after tips. At one German hotel where tips were forbidden, as we drove away we caught a glimpse of three of the waiters who had served us standing at the window smiling to us their adieux. These farewells are as cordial where tips are not expected or not even allowed, or where they have already been paid, as where they are expected. In short, if the hotel is small, you find a personal relationship established between yourself and the innkeeper and his representatives,

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and, if this relationship is accepted in the same spirit in which it is offered, it lends a distinct charm to the life such as is not known in the great hotel.

This little sketch of German hotels would be incomplete if I did not add a reference to a type of hotel which is, so far as I know, peculiar to Germany—the Hospiz. The Hospiz is a small hotel having some ill-defined relation to the Church; in some cases the connection is organic, in other cases it is purely moral. The prime object is, or appears to be, to conduct a hotel in the spirit of Christian hospitality. There is a brief devotional service in one of the rooms every morning, which you attend or not as you like. No tips are allowed; in lieu of these an addition of from eight to ten per cent is made to the bill, which is, I presume, divided among the waiters. They evidently expect no tips, and indeed afford you no opportunity to give them one. In the cheapest of these Hospizes, the one at Hanover, the price of breakfast was, if I remember aright, eighty pfennigs—that is, twenty cents—and dinner was a mark and three-quarters—that is, forty-two cents. And it was a very good dinner—for the price: soup, two courses of meat, and a dessert. The Dresden Hospiz was connected with a church mission, and the profits, I believe, went to the mission. The house was a stone building, with wide halls, great stone staircases, large, well-lighted rooms with thick partitions and double doors, and everything from street to bedchamber as scrupulously clean as ceaseless vigilance could make it. The *portier's* kindness in looking out for our convenience, getting us good seats at the opera, and giving us wise counsel as to shops, was like that of an old friend. And the cost, including all extras, averaged a little less than three dollars a day apiece. I wonder if the Young Men's Christian Association of America could establish such hotels in the small cities in connection with their work and make the profits contribute to their exchequer. Or would the spirit of eager commercialism creep in and corrupt the Association? If they could establish and maintain American Hospizes where Christian courtesy could be substituted for the spirit of the market, and clean simplicity for tawdry and sometimes uncleanly finery, they would confer a great favor upon the public, and one for which, I believe, the American public would be glad to pay a fair profit-rendering compensation.

L. A.

THE NEW BOOKS

The Nativity has more often than any other single event of history supplied the subjects for the great works not only of painters but also of engravers. Mr. Frederick Keppel, the veteran print expert, connoisseur, and dealer, has written a book on "Christmas in Art," which he has illustrated with reproductions of many paintings, engravings, and etchings representative of the art of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Giotto, Mantegna, Memling, Rembrandt, Ghirlandajo, Dürer, Luini, Titian, and Murillo are among the artists whose conceptions of the Nativity are admirably represented. Mr. Keppel's text not only contains valuable information on the art side of his subject, but is a genial, discursive essay on Christmas. Not the least interesting pages of the book record personal boyhood reminiscences of Christmas in Ireland. (Duffield & Co., New York. $2.50, net.)

"Her father was an outlaw, like Robin Hood. For no fault of his he had been driven from his home, and had gone to live in the wild forest." Would not any child, and almost any grown person, like to hear the rest of that story? That is the way of the real story-teller. Compare that beginning with this: "Who would like to be a soldier? Show me how a soldier stands, how he salutes, how he holds his gun when marching and firing. It would be splendid to be a real soldier, I think," etc. After a while the tale appears with, "There was a splendid soldier once, named Joshua." That is the story-telling method of the kindergartner. In those two beginnings is the difference between two volumes of Bible stories published this fall. The volume by the story-teller is "The Garden of Eden," by George Hodges (Houghton Mifflin Company, $1.50). The volume by the kindergartner is "Tell Me a True Story," by Mary Stewart (Fleming H. Revell Company, $1.25.) A child's judgment on these two books confirms our own conviction that if a story is to be told it is best to have a story-teller tell it. We knew that Dean

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Hodges preached so that congregations listened, and wrote articles that people read, and discussed social problems so that experts were informed, but we confess that we did not know till these stories appeared that he had to so remarkable a degree the story-teller's gift. There are numerous volumes which retell the Old Testament stories, but "The Garden of Eden" is among them in a class by itself. It follows the example of the original in letting the tales bear their own moral. With a skill that conceals itself Dean Hodges introduces the terse and dignified phrases of the English version; at the same time he is an artist in his selection of incidents, in his use of familiar language, and in his simple but never condescending style. Through the volume there runs a vein of quiet humor that emphasizes at once the human quality in which the Old Testament itself is rich, and the reverence which underlies the whole treatment. The book is worthily illustrated. We hope that Dean Hodges will write more stories of the same sort, and among them will include stories from the New Testament.

Young readers will have their share of fine books published this season besides the volume of Bible stories by Dean Hodges. Lamb's "Tales from Shakespeare" (E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.50) appears with very distinctive and effective pictures (many in color) by Arthur Rackham. An edition of "Gulliver's Travels" (E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.50), edited with the purpose of satisfying modern views as to what is suitable for boys and girls, is also illustrated in color by the same vigorous and skillful artist. "The Arabian Nights: Their Best-Known Tales" (Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.50) is a beautiful volume edited by Kate Douglas Wiggin and Nora Archibald Smith, and provided with illustrations in color by Maxfield Parrish. It contains ten of the famous stories. No one who knows anything of either the editors or the illustrator needs to be told that their product is satisfying. Here are Aladdin and Ali Baba and Sindbad, of course; here also are Gulnare and Codadad and other early acquaintances. Maxfield Parrish's decorative pictures partake of the richness and splendor of the tales. An edition of Charles Kingsley's "Water Babies" (The Macmillan Company, $5, net) is one of the most beautiful of these books for young readers. The illustrations in color by Warwick Goble are fanciful and delicate. Laboulaye's "Fairy Tales" (E. P. Dutton & Co., $2.50) appear with a dozen full-page pictures in black and white and a half-dozen in color with many smaller illustrations by Arthur A. Dixon. Another book which young readers will enjoy, though it is not solely designed for them, is "Legends of the Alhambra." This is a volume made up of the group of legends included in Washington Irving's "Alhambra." It is provided with striking page illustrations in color and with marginal decorations by George Hood. An introduction by Hamilton W. Mabie explains the relation of Irving's experiences in Spain to his literary development and his literary work (The J. B. Lippincott Company, $2.50, net). In "Chivalry" James Branch Cabell (Harper & Brothers, $2) tells stories of knighthood which Nicolas de Caen is supposed to have told in 1470. The setting of these tales provides just the sort of costume and color that suits the brush of Howard Pyle, who furnishes nine out of the twelve illustrations. Of the remainder, two are by William Hurd Lawrence and one by Elizabeth Shippen Green. These stories about queens will be best appreciated by those younger readers of a larger growth who feel the fascination of a world of dames and kings and squires and jongleurs and armed retinues and sieges and burnings, all as incidents to the course of some true love.

Of illustrated books of verse for children four should be mentioned in this general group: One, "Seven Ages of Childhood" (Moffat, Yard & Co., $2, net), consists of a series of pleasant pictures by the well-known illustrator of child life, Jessie Willcox Smith, accompanied with rather perfunctory rhymes by Carolyn Wells; the second, "Yesterday's Children," consists of some verse by Githa Sowerby about children of past ages, written, apparently under the influence of Stevenson's "Child's Garden," from a child's point of view, with illustrations by Millicent Sowerby (Duffield & Co., $1.50); the third is a clever little collection of bits of blank verse of Indian pattern about Indian children, with equally clever and attractive decorative illustrations, entitled "Little Indian Maidens at Work and Play" (E. P. Dutton & Co., $1.25); the fourth is an edition of Stevenson's "Child's Garden of Verses" with pictures, some of them in color, by Edith Storer (Charles Scribner's Sons, $2.50), which, though not so satisfactory as one or two other illustrated editions, is fairly successful.

Any one who has watched children's taste in reading knows that, despite the prevalence of over-strenuous books about war, football, and adventure, boys and girls still enjoy "The Swiss Family Robinson" as much as the generation which preceded them. It may be added that it is equally remarkable that few people who remember the pleasure they took when reading this book can name the author—David Wyss. Now we have an edition which is positively a model of what a child's book should be, with generous-sized page, clear type, and well-conceived drawings—the latter by Mr. Louis Rhead. To round out the excellence of the book, it has an introduction by W. D. Howells, who always has a sympathetic appreciation of the child's point of view. Mr. Howells expresses the special character of "The Swiss Family Robinson" very well in saying that "for the honest-hearted, home-loving boy it is like being under his own roof, with a boundless range of field, forest, and sea, and

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every harmless delight of them." (Harper & Brothers, New York. $1.50.)

In his introduction to "The Book of Christmas" Mr. Hamilton W. Mabie declares: "At the end of nearly two thousand years Christmas shows no signs of decrepitude or weariness; its danger lies not in forgetfulness, but in perverted uses and overstimulated activities." A notable proof of this is the number and quality of Christmas poems, stories, and articles which have appeared in quite recent years and are worthy of permanent form. The old appreciations of Christmas are fine in workmanship, but the idea entertained by many people that most Christmas literature of the present day is merely perfunctory is disproved by the contents of this really delightful book, in which are many scores of extracts and complete poems and sketches relating to the holiday season. The publishers have given the book a tasteful dress, and drawings by George Wharton Edwards and reproductions of famous paintings increase its attractiveness. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.)

One only wishes that Mr. Howells's "Seven English Cities" were seventeen. He has the irresponsible, free-from-guide-book-bonds attitude that only an old traveler attains, and as a literary travel companion he is even more enjoyable than as critic and story-writer. This book will go on the shelf with Mr. Howells's "Certain Delightful English Towns." It affords pleasant glimpses of towns in England and Wales for the most part little known to the ordinary tourist, and glimpses also of British character and manners. As always, the comment is kindly and the spirit cheerful. (Harper & Brothers, New York. $2.)

It was a happy idea to include in one volume papers on six of the famous men whose centenary occurred this year. These essays on Poe, Lincoln, Holmes, Darwin, Tennyson, and Gladstone are from the pen of the Rev. Thomas R. Slicer, the well-known Unitarian minister of All Souls' Church, New York. They are somewhat over-rhetorical in places, but are both appreciative and suggestive. We do not care greatly for the book's title, "From Poet to Premier." The volume is notable for its admirable paper, printing, and binding, and is issued in a limited edition, and illustrated with six portrait etchings. (The Grolier Society, New York. $3.)

The readers of The Outlook know that Dr. Abbott's series of Summer Vesper Sermons for the season just past have had as a generic title "The Temple." As these familiar talks appear in book form, the volume forms one of a series of three books which have essential unity. Dr. Abbott notes in his preface to the present volume that these are not books of theology but books of religion. Thus the object of "The Great Companion" is to describe the Christian's faith in God; the object of "The Other Room" is, not to prove immortality but to describe it; and the object of "The Temple," he adds, "is to describe human experience: as it is and as it ought to be; to interpret the laws both of the body and of the spirit." (The Macmillan Company, New York. $1.25.)

In the appendix to his newly published book "The Land of the Lion" Dr. W. S. Rainsford prints some "lion telegrams" sent by Hindi station-masters on the Uganda railway to the traffic manager. One reads: "Lion is on the platform. . . . Guard to advise passengers not to get out here;" another: "Pointsman [switchman] is surrounded by two lions while returning from distant signal, and hence pointsman went on top of telegraph post near water tanks. Train to stop there and take him on train and then proceed;" while a third announces, "Lion sitting before office door." The appropriateness of Dr. Rainsford's designation of that vast and fascinating country is indicated by these naïve appeals. Three chapters of Dr. Rainsford's book have appeared in The Outlook in recent months, and the baker's dozen which accompany them in the volume are no less interesting. They cover a hunting and exploring experience of over a year. He traveled four thousand miles on sefari (caravan), hunted elephant, lion, buffalo, rhinoceros, giraffe, and the many species of antelope which throng the veldt in the British East Africa Protectorate. He tells hunting stories that are vivid and thrilling, describes picturesquely the varied country through which he traveled, portrays sympathetically the different native tribes of the region, and offers illuminating comments on the problems which must attend any attempt to civilize and to Christianize this land whose natives are "untold thousands of years younger than Abraham, untold thousands nearer the monkey than were Abraham's Phœnician kinsfolk." (Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. $3.80.)

"The Promise of American Life," by Herbert Croly, will beyond doubt be recognized by students of the great philosophical currents of American history and political development as an unusual and remarkable work. Its character and scope cannot adequately be indicated in a brief note; The Outlook will, in all probability, at a later date consider the work at some length. It must now suffice to say that Mr. Croly acutely analyzes American democracy and pseudo-democracy, while his treatment of the actual present tendencies of democratic ideals is even more instructive and suggestive than the purely historical part of his book. He writes with a free pen and is both apt and keen-witted in his way of illustrating theories and beliefs by practical applications. One chapter, for instance, which will attract very special attention is that which considers the aims and methods of four typical reformers, Jerome, Hearst, Bryan, and Roosevelt. It

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is not necessary to agree in every point with the conclusions reached by Mr. Croly to feel that he has made an important contribution to our knowledge of the underlying principles of American democracy. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $2.50.)

No one organization has done more for the development of the emancipated negro than the American Missionary Association; we do not think that any other organization has done as much. It was born in 1846, as a practical protest against the spirit of caste and the practice of slavery, and so was ready to seize the opportunity to illustrate its principles when the opportunity came. The history of that organization Dr. A. F. Beard has told in "A Crusade of Brotherhood." It may be said that he would have made a more interesting and valuable volume if he had made a different one; had given an account of other contemporaneous workers for the emancipated negro—an account of the Freedmen's Bureau, its organization, difficulties, failures, and successes; the rise of the undenominational commission for the education and relief of the negro which preceded most of the missionary societies; and the work of individual educational leaders among the negro people like Booker Washington. But it must also be said that the book he chose to write is simply the history of the one Missionary Association, and that this history he has written with great clearness, without prejudice or passion, and with pardonable pride in its principles and its achievements. It will be, we think, the authoritative record of the work of this pioneer, and incidentally throw light on the problem in the solution of which that society has played so important a part. (The Pilgrim Press, Boston. $1.25.)

The glacial period began more than a quarter of a million years ago. According to some authorities, it was then that man first appeared. Among other places he appeared in the valleys of central and southern India. Later—very much later—he came to the mountains. But their history is that of a hundred million years, says Sir Francis Younghusband in his "Kashmir." "To some the sight of these mountain masses, the thought of the tremendous forces which gave them rise, and the idea of the æons of time their molding has involved bring no other feeling than depression. The size, the titanic nature of the forces, and the vastness of time impress them only with the littleness of man in comparison. But why should the mountains thus depress? Why should not their history bring us the more worthy thought of the mighty possibilities to the race? For man, small in stature though he may be, is, after all, the flower and finish of the evolutionary process so far; he is century by century acquiring a completer mastery over Nature." Whether describing nature—the Himalayas as an archipelago in prehistoric times or as in comparison with Switzerland in our own time—or whether describing the people of Kashmir, under Greek, Buddhist, Mohammedan, or British influences, the author seems equally interesting and impressive. His text is graphically reinforced by Major Molyneux's colored pictures. (The Macmillan Company, New York. $6.)

On the 24th of November, one day before Mr. John Bigelow's ninety-third birthday, the Baker & Taylor Company (New York) published, in three volumes, his "Retrospections of an Active Life." At ninety-two years of age Mr. Bigelow is in excellent health physically, and as young in brain and heart as he was three-quarters of a century ago, as full of interest in social, industrial, and National problems, and as hopeful a believer in human progress. He was a boy just entering his teens when the nullification doctrine was proclaimed by Calhoun. He has lived to see that doctrine developed into the doctrine of secession and absolutely overthrown; the Union knit together in indissoluble bonds; slavery abolished; the reconstruction problem of the radicals worked out and practically pronounced by the Nation a failure; a more rational method of reconstruction set in operation; the education of the negro race undertaken, not only by private benevolence, but, without an exception, by the former slave States; the spoils system introduced under Jackson, and largely overthrown under Cleveland and Roosevelt; the birth and early demise of the Know-Nothing or American party; the futile attempt by France and the promising attempt of the United States to build a Panama Canal; the birth and development of Mormonism and the decadence, if not the utter overthrow, of accompanying polygamy; the threatening growth of corruption in National, State, and municipal governments, and the awakening of the American conscience and the inaugurated campaign in National, State, and city against corruption; the free-silver controversy, and the adoption of the gold standard; the growth of monopolies and the various endeavors in State and Nation to put an end to them. In all this history he has had an active, influential, and prominent part. There is no man living to-day so fitted to write the story of the last three-quarters of a century of American life as seen by one who has actively participated in it; and the vigor of his activity is paralleled by the vigor of his narrative. We shall speak hereafter more at length of this remarkable story. It must suffice here to tell our readers that it has been written.

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PUBLIC OPINION

CHRISTMAS HARDSHIPS

As the Christmas season approaches, the hardships of the working-girls and delivery men and boys in the department stores come vividly before our minds. If the thoughtful minds of America could be brought to realize the hardship which Christmas brings to the workers, we are convinced that they would apply themselves to the question of making Christmas a time of rejoicing for all, even for the shop-girls. Then those pitiful words, "Oh, I just hate Christmas!" could not be heard in passing through the large department stores two weeks before the Day of Days. Last year the Consumers' League of New York sent out forty thousand circulars saying, "*Do your Christmas shopping early.*" It also sent out some thousands of picture post-cards bearing the same motto. And yet on Christmas Eve, 1908, large delivery wagons loaded up ready to start on their rounds were found in front of large department stores at 11 P.M.

The Christmas season now means to many a weary, footsore girl a terrible ordeal which must be endured in order to retain the position which earns her honest daily bread. Many of these girls are ill after the long, tiresome fortnight, and spend the holiday in bed.

All this hardship is being endured, not because we are giving to the poor and those in need, but to wealthy people who already have more than enough of every material thing. If we would but give these friends some small token of our real thought for their higher needs, some simple picture, poem, message, or letter, it might prove their richest Christmas blessing. Can we not try to turn our minds away from the material weight of "great possessions"? We giv to people who have, but we give too little to those who really need our gifts.

SUGGESTIONS FOR SIMPLIFYING CHRISTMAS

1. Buy early—early in the season, and early in the day.
2. Send packages two weeks before Christmas, marked, "Not to be opened till Christmas."
3. Aim to minister to real needs. Give chiefly to children. Make it their day.
4. Buy nothing you cannot afford.
5. Choose articles showing artistic merit or having intrinsic value.
6. Demand things which have been made and sold under conditions wholesome to the worker.

Above all, remember that Christmas is of sweet and noble memory and not an occasion appropriate to vulgar display.

EDITH KENDALL.

Consumers' League, New York.

THE SHIP SUBSIDY QUESTION

The question of ship subsidy bids fair to come prominently before the next Congress. It is maintained by many, and naturally, that the foreign carrying trade of this country should be shared by us, and not left entirely to our foreign competitors. Ship subsidy would allow us to carry a portion of our foreign commerce, and, if carried to the extent of our wealth, might even enable us to carry it all. But do we want to buy that privilege?

At the present time the maritime nations of Europe and Japan subsidize their shipping engaged in foreign commerce—they all pay for the privilege of carrying our commerce. It is not for the glory of having a merchant marine, nor for the sake of seeing their flag in foreign countries, that they do so. It is a war measure pure and simple. In time of foreign war those countries will have ships and seamen for the expansion of their navies.

It would seem that this method of obtaining a reserve force for naval purposes carried the defect that in effecting its purpose much money was expended that would never yield a return—many ships are subsidized that would be of little or no use; in other words, that the Government expended money for which no adequate value was received. Would it not be better, before embarking on such a course, to determine just what kind of ships are most required as a reserve force for the navy, and to plan accordingly to obtain those most necessary?

The navy has only three scout cruisers. It is conceded that we should have them in the ratio of one for each battle-ship. That would mean that we should have twenty-eight more scouts now built and building.

Already there are many patriotic citizens who deplore the large appropriation for naval expenditures. But if our navy is to be of use, we must surely have eyes for our fleet, or it will be like an army composed of infantry and artillery but without cavalry. The cost of twenty-eight scout ships similar to the three we already have would be, for hull and machinery alone, in the vicinity of $45,000,000, and they would require ten thousand additional officers and men. Their annual cost of maintenance would be nearly $7,000,000.

Scout cruisers are mentioned particularly because it is in them that our navy is particularly deficient. Of the other cruisers of the navy list there are few whose speed is superior to that of the latest battle-ships. Cruisers whose speed is less than that of battle-ships can be of slight use in time of war.

The nature of the service of scout cruisers necessitates that they act singly rather than in squadrons. They should be much faster than any battle-ship, capable of maintaining a high sea speed in any kind of weather, have large coal-carrying capacity, and ability to keep the sea for a long time, as they might not have supply ships to depend on and might be long separated from their base of supplies. These ships are not built for fighting, they carry a most insignificant battery—everything is sacrificed for speed. Merchant ships of the same speed would do the same work in war, and in time of peace,

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instead of being an expense to the Government, would be a source of income.

Of course a subsidy would provide a certain number and kind of ships in proportion to the amount of money expended and in proportion to the subsidies paid by other maritime countries. But as we have a definite object in view, why not go after it in a direct manner? Let the Government build the ships required, with attention to the purpose for which the ships will be used in war.

As a beginning, let us start with ships to ply between the east and west coasts of our own country. In about five years the Panama Canal will have been completed. Vast quantities of freight will then naturally turn to the Canal. There should be ships to carry this freight. It is apprehended that were not the Government to control and operate such ships, they will be used as the Panama Railroad and its connecting steamship lines are alleged to have been used in the past, merely to sustain transcontinental railway rates. Enough ships should be put in service so that all terminal ports should be served. There is no reason why Portland (Maine), Boston, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Norfolk, Charleston, Savannah, Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, and Galveston should not have direct communication with San Diego, San Pedro, San Francisco, Portland (Oregon), Seattle, and Tacoma.

Where the trade warrants, fast steamers should be put into service. Turbine express steamers of twenty-five knots per hour could make the trip from New York to San Francisco in eleven days, allowing two days for passing through the Canal. That time is as good as is made by the fastest freight trains, and such steamers would efficiently handle that trade.

These ships should be built, as above stated, with the purpose for which they are to be used in time of war always in view. The fast express steamers should be equipped with magazines, ammunition hoists, and especially strengthened emplacements for guns, so that they could be converted into scout cruisers at a few hours' notice. Whenever one is built reserve guns and ammunition should be laid by at a convenient shore magazine for installation at the outbreak of war. Slower ships should be built with the end in view that they may be quickly converted into transports and auxiliaries. None should be built of less than fifteen knots speed.

The result of this course would be to furnish necessary scouts and auxiliaries in time of war. In time of peace the country would not be burdened with the cost and expense of upkeep of a large number of cruisers and auxiliaries, but, on the contrary, would be receiving an income from them.

The Government could secure funds for the building of these ships by the issuance of bonds. The ships should be operated so as to pay the interest on the bonds, operating expenses, overhead expenses, maintenance, and so as to pay off the bonds in a fixed number of years; and, that there may be no discrimination by unfair competition against the transcontinental railways, require the ships to earn not less than five per cent on the money invested, which dividends should go into the National treasury.

In time of war, when it becomes necessary to withdraw these ships for war purposes, the flow of commerce could be maintained by opening the gates to foreign shipping.

Such a course would provide a powerful reserve for National defense, reduce the cost of maintaining the navy, aid inland waterways development by bringing transcontinental commerce into natural channels, and tend to solve the railway rate problem and insure equitable rates between terminal ports of the two oceans.

C. A. ABELE,
Lieutenant U. S. N.

Bridgeport, Connecticut.

THEODORE PARKER AND JOHN BROWN

I have read, long after its appearance, the "Character Study" of my friend Theodore Parker in The Outlook of August 7, and am pleased to see that Dr. Abbott therein recognizes the greatness of the preacher and scholar, whom he can hardly have known personally, and, consequently, cannot fully understand, even by reading a portion of his writings. Very few persons now living have read them all, or a majority of them. Parker was a person (as most scholars and orators are, Dr. Abbott being no exception) who did not express himself wholly in his printed books or in his public eloquence. In a time when neither religion nor liberty was very well understood in the United States, and when Christianity and the liberty announced by Franklin, Jefferson, and Adams were even less practiced than understood, Parker both understood and publicly practiced them. The condition now existing in the religious world of America and the political institutions established by Lincoln and the victors in our Civil War are an ample justification of Parker's long championship of freedom in religious and political society; for it was those very institutions that he advocated, and that more enlightened state of religious freedom for which he had striven with the fervor and the earnestness of a Hebrew prophet. What Dr. Abbott terms "vituperation" is more than paralleled in every one of the major Prophets, and even in the recorded words of the mild Jesus of Nazareth.

But it is not of this I would specially write to-day. Dr. Abbott says: "Parker was one of the committee to raise funds for John Brown before his *disastrous* raid, and was ready to give him aid and indorsement without inquiring into his programme: . . . a kind of leap-before-you-look philosophy quite characteristic of a certain type of radicals." That may be true of persons Dr. Abbott has known; it is not true of Theodore Parker, whom he did not know. Parker raised

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funds for Brown to use in Kansas, as did a hundred other anti-slavery men, among them Bishop Lawrence's father, who refused to vote for Abraham Lincoln in preference to Edward Everett; and he did so with full and explicit knowledge of how Brown would act in Kansas, so far as Brown knew himself, for Brown told Parker in my presence. Later he gave and raised funds for Brown's attack on slavery in Virginia, and then also with adequate knowledge of Brown's plans, explained to him by me at Brown's request, by Brown himself in a personal interview, and by a considerable correspondence, of which I was generally the medium. Of the issue of those plans nobody could foresee the reality either immediately or after some years. But Parker foresaw and foretold the downfall of negro slavery in America before the close of the nineteenth century—as the result of Brown's action, and that of others, among them of Abraham Lincoln, with whose position in 1858 on the slavery question Parker became more familiar than any other Eastern anti-slavery man, by a confidential correspondence with Lincoln's Kentuckian partner, William Herndon, which is to be published in full next year at Cedar Rapids in Iowa. And I may say that no other Eastern man earlier or more fully approved of Lincoln's bold stand against Douglas and the Republican clique who favored Republican support in 1857–8 for Douglas—men like Seward, Greeley, and Henry Wilson—than did Theodore Parker. The evidence of this will be found in the above-mentioned correspondence. Very few were the politicians or the anti-slavery men who in 1857–9 could appreciate both those martyrs of emancipation, Brown and Lincoln; but that Parker did, to my certain knowledge. To speak of the "policy of anti-slavery men of the type of Abraham Lincoln, W. H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, and Henry Ward Beecher" is much like classing together Bright and Gladstone in their attitude towards Davis, Lee, and their followers in treason. Parker distrusted Seward, disliked Greeley, but hailed Lincoln as the man of the hour.

Dr. Abbott regrets John Brown's "disastrous raid" and his "bootless endeavor" in Virginia—and it must be admitted that it was "disastrous" to Brown and his children and to his slain followers. So was Thermopylæ disastrous to Leonidas and Sempach to Winkelried; but who regrets those disasters now? As for "bootless," Thoreau answered that adjective fifty years ago, when he said in our parish vestry, and afterwards to millions of hearers and readers, this:

"I hear one ask, Yankee-like, 'What shall we gain by it?' as if he expected to fill his pockets by this enterprise. If he does not get *a new pair of boots* or a vote of thanks, it must be a failure; 'he won't gain anything by it.' Well, no—I don't suppose Brown could get four-and-sixpence a day for being hung, take the year round; but then he stands a chance to save a considerable part of his soul, when you do not."

The million soldiers in the Union army, three years after Brown's death, and when Thoreau had joined his friend in the grave, took exactly that view of Brown, for they sang from Boston to San Antonio:

"He's gone to be a soldier in the army of the Lord,
His *soul* is marching on."

And six months after Thoreau's death, in May, 1862, Lincoln had followed Brown's example and emancipated by force; so that in less than four years from Brown's "disastrous and bootless endeavor" every one of the slaves for whom Brown died was nominally a freeman. Two years afterward the same "disaster" occurred to Lincoln himself. Slavery, dying, had force enough to slay its destroyer, as it had slain Brown six years earlier. Separate the immortality of the two men if you can; separate Peter from Paul in their Roman martyrdom, or Wallace on the scaffold from Bruce victorious at Bannockburn. The disaster of Brown's foray fell on Virginia and its slave-breeding system; the benefit of it has now blessed the whole country in the destruction of that institution which vainly and bloodily fought four years to destroy the Nation.

F. B. SANBORN.

Concord, Massachusetts.

[Theodore Parker is himself the authority for the statement that he did not know John Brown's plans. He is quoted by Dr. Weiss, his semi-official biographer, as saying, when consulted by a member of the Committee as to the possibility of raising money to carry on Brown's general work: "I doubt whether things of the kind will succeed. But we shall make a great many failures before we discover the right way of getting at it. This may as well be one of them." Dr. Weiss adds: "Captain Brown would not pledge himself to carry out any special plan. He wanted to be left free to make his own plan, at the time and in the place which might seem to him most promising. Consequently, when the affair at Harper's Ferry took place, the Committee knew that it was John Brown's blow, though he had not confided it to them. *Neither Mr. Parker nor any other member of the Committee endeavored to understand his movements in advance.*" (Italics ours.) As to the futility of John Brown's disastrous raid, the difference of opinion between Mr. Sanborn and The Outlook is irreconcilable. In our judgment, the attempt to abolish slavery by exciting a slave insurrection was founded on ignorance of the actual conditions in the South, was doomed to failure from the outset, and ought to have failed. On the contrary, the policy of anti-slavery men of the type of Lincoln, Seward, Chase, and Beecher, which was by constitutional means to confine slavery to the slave States, would have resulted in its peaceful abolition if the slavocracy, foreseeing that inevitable result, had not risen in insurrection, and so hastened the overthrow of slavery, which they hoped to prevent.—THE EDITORS.]

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